

RURAL SOCIOLOGY

Devoted to *Scientific Study* of Rural Life

VOLUME 4

MARCH, 1939

NUMBER 1

<i>Social Effects of Mechanization of Agriculture</i>	C. Horace Hamilton
<i>Agricultural Labor Organization in France</i>	Michel Cépède
<i>Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest</i>	E. D. Tetreau
<i>Extension in the Agricultural Colleges</i>	A. F. Wileden
<i>The Missouri Standard Community Plan</i>	Douglas Ensminger
<i>The Radio and Rural Research</i>	F. Howard Forsyth
<i>The Good American Earth</i>	Robert Douglas Bowden
<i>Notes</i>	C. R. Wasson, Hugh Carter
<i>Current Bulletins</i>	Edited by Charles P. Loomis
<i>Book Reviews</i>	Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	Contributed
<i>Notes for Contributors</i>	Editor

Official Organ of *the*
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Rural Sociology

Published Quarterly

BOARD OF EDITORS

LOWRY NELSON, <i>Editor</i>	University of Minnesota
T. LYNN SMITH, <i>Managing Editor</i>	Louisiana State University
JOHN H. KOLB, <i>Associate Editor</i>	University of Wisconsin
C. E. LIVELY, <i>Associate Editor</i>	University of Missouri
CHARLES P. LOOMIS, <i>Associate Editor</i>	U. S. Department of Agriculture
CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN, <i>Associate Editor</i>	Harvard University
MARGARET STEPHENS, <i>Assistant Managing Editor</i>	Louisiana State University

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

W. G. S. ADAMS, All Souls College, Oxford University	EDWIN V. O'HARA, National Catholic Welfare Conference
A. W. ASHBY, University College of Wales	ROBERT E. PARK, University of Chicago
O. E. BAKER, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A.	CHARLES W. PIPKIN, Louisiana State University
JOHN D. BLACK, Harvard University	VACLAV SMETANKA, Czechoslovakia Academy of Agriculture
E. DES. BRUNNER, Columbia University	P. A. SOROKIN, Harvard University
F. STUART CHAPIN, University of Minnesota	ETIENNE SUZUKI, The Gifu Imperial College of Agriculture, Japan
CARL A. DAWSON, McGill University	CARL C. TAYLOR, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A.
ALEXANDER FARQUHARSON, Le Play House, London	PAUL S. TAYLOR, University of California
FRED C. FREY, Louisiana State University	GEORGE S. WEHRWEIN, University of Wisconsin
C. J. GALPIN, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A.	M. L. WILSON, United States Department of Agriculture
MANUEL GAMIO, Universidad Nacional de Mexico	T. J. WOOFER, Jr., Works Progress Administration
CORRADO GINI, University of Rome	B. YOUNGBLOOD, Office of Experiment Stations, U. S. D. A.
CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Fisk University	

GUARANTOR LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

OFFICERS OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

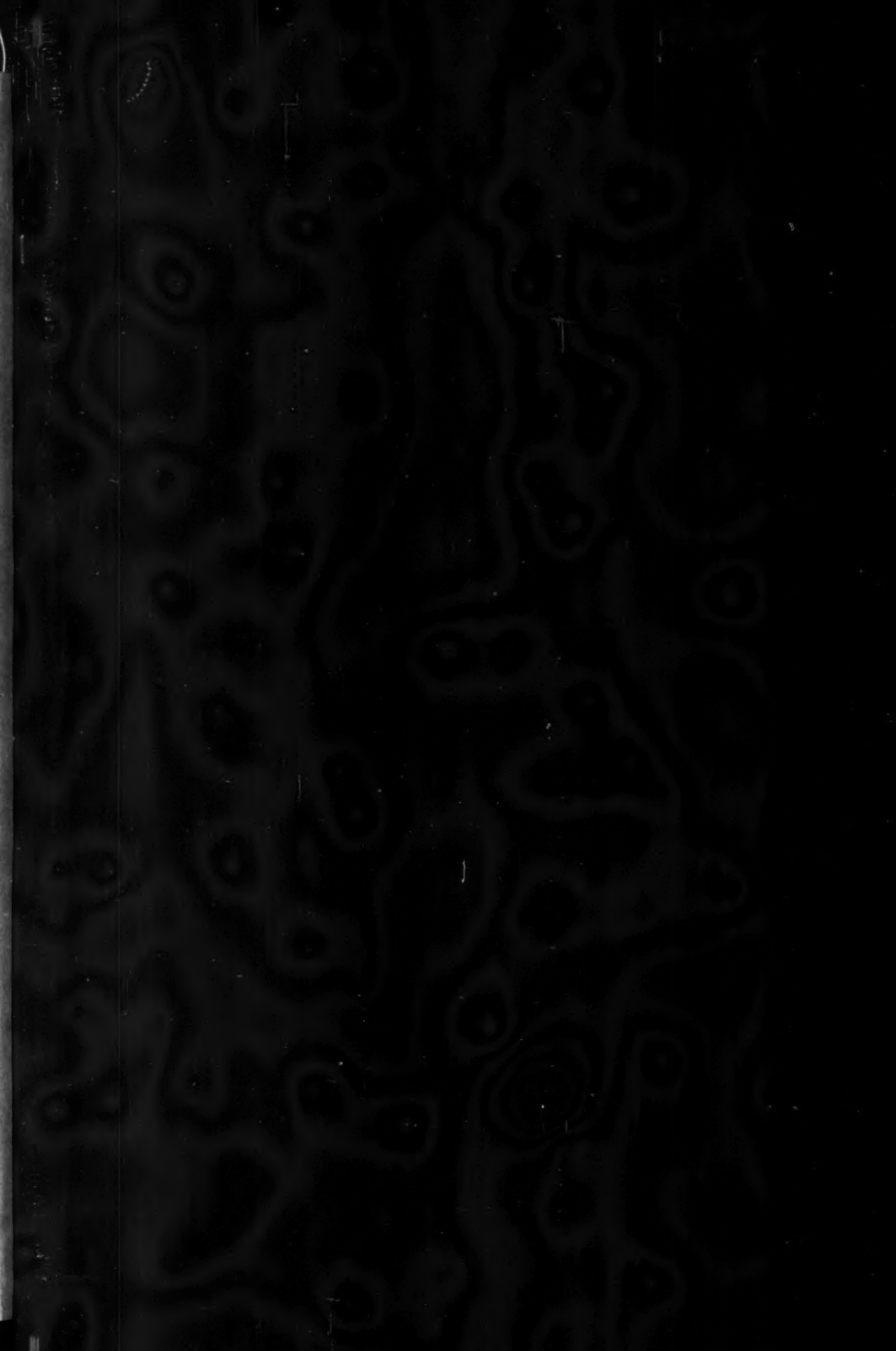
President—CARL C. TAYLOR, U. S. Department of Agriculture
Vice-President—R. C. SMITH, Indianapolis Farm Security Administration
Secretary-Treasurer—T. LYNN SMITH, Louisiana State University
Members of the Executive Committee:
T. J. WOOFER, Works Progress Administration
DWIGHT SANDERSON, Cornell University

Rural Sociology is published by the Louisiana State University Press, University, Louisiana, in March, June, September, and December.

Membership dues in the society, including subscription, are \$3.00 per year. Subscription rates to non-members and libraries are \$2.50 per year. Single issues, 75 cents.

Manuscripts, communications for the editors, and business correspondence should be addressed to the Managing Editor, Louisiana State University, University, Louisiana.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at University, Louisiana, under the Act of March 3, 1879.



Rural Sociology



Copyright, 1938, by the Rural Sociological Society

Rural Sociology

VOL. 4

MARCH, 1939

No. 1

CONTENTS

<i>The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture.</i>	
By C. Horace Hamilton	3
Discussion, by R. C. Smith	19
Discussion, by W. E. Grimes	23
<i>Agricultural Labor Organization in France.</i> By Michel Cépède	26
<i>Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest.</i> By E. D. Tetreau	36
<i>Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges.</i> By A. F. Wileden	43
<i>The Missouri Standard Community Plan After Thirteen Years.</i> By Douglas Ensminger	58
<i>The Radio and Rural Research.</i> By F. Howard Forsyth	67
<i>The Good American Earth.</i> By Robert Douglas Bowden	78
Notes	
<i>Does Increasing Urbanization of the Rural Areas Require a Re-examination of Some of Our Basic Postulates?</i> By C. R. Wasson	88
<i>Broadway's Picture of Rural America.</i> By Hugh Carter	89
<i>Current Bulletins.</i> Edited by Charles P. Loomis	93
<i>Book Reviews.</i> Edited by Carle C. Zimmerman	
Vance, <i>Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution</i> ; Thomas, <i>Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials</i> ; Whelpton, <i>Needed Population Research</i> ; Spengler <i>France Faces Depopulation</i> , by O. D. Duncan	107
Buck, <i>Land Utilization in China</i> ; Hooker, <i>Readjustments of Agricultural Ten- ure in Ireland</i> , by E. deS. Brunner	108
Orwin and Orwin, <i>The Open Fields</i> , by J. E. Bachelder, Jr.	111
Lord, <i>Behold Our Land</i> , by Kenneth Evans	111
Daniels, <i>A Southerner Discovers the South</i> , by Daniel Russell	112
Farnham and Link, <i>Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief</i> , by Bryce Ryan	113
Common (editor), <i>Seven Shifts</i> , by Gordon W. Blackwell	114
Bunce, <i>Economic Nationalism and the Farmer</i> , by O. D. Duncan	114
Smith, <i>A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana</i> , by E. deS. Brunner	115
Coon, <i>Money to Burn</i> ; Hollis, <i>Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Educa- tion</i> , by Logan Wilson	116
Smith, <i>Americans in Process</i> , by N. J. Demerath	117
Hark, <i>Hex Marks the Spot</i> , by Kingsley Davis	118
Benson and Hedin (editors), <i>Swedes in America</i> , by Robert K. Merton	119
Koenig, <i>Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut</i> , by Wendell H. Bash	119
Powell, <i>Human Side of a People and The Right Name</i> , by N. B. DeNood	120
Wesley, <i>Owatonna</i> , by J. F. Thaden	120
Waller, <i>The Family</i> , by Logan Wilson	121
Fink, <i>Causes of Crime</i> , by J. M. Gillette	122
<i>News Notes and Announcements</i>	123
<i>Notes for Contributors</i>	140

Sociology
University of
8-7-40

The Social Effects of Recent Trends in the Mechanization of Agriculture†

By C. Horace Hamilton*

THE RATE AND THE MAGNITUDE OF MECHANIZATION

The rate and the magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man. The high point in the manufacture and sale of farm tractors and other farm equipment in the United States was reached in 1937, when the value of such equipment sold by manufacturers for use in the United States amounted to \$507,146,913.¹ This figure is to be compared with \$409,000,000 in 1936; \$302,000,000 in 1935; only \$90,000,000 in 1932; and in 1929, the record year before 1937, \$458,000,000 (Table 1). Farm tractors alone accounted for 42.0 per cent of the farm equipment sales of 1936 and 1937. In 1925 the sales of farm tractors accounted for only 27.2 per cent of all such sales. During the three-year period, 1935 to 1937, farm machinery manufacturers sold for use in the United States 565,792 tractors. In 1937 alone, more tractors were sold for domestic use than were enumerated on farms in 1920.

According to the estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute,² there were, as of April 1, 1938, on the farms of the nation 1,527,989 tractors—less than three times as many as were sold in the three-year period preceding 1938 (Table 2). A recent survey of 3,000 farms shows that 40.3 per cent of the tractors on farms and ranches in the United States were bought in the three years preceding 1938.³ The estimates of the Farm Equipment Institute are probably conservative (Table 3). Their estimates show for the state of Texas 73,981 tractors in 1936 and 98,966 in 1938—an increase of 34 per cent. Their figure for 1938 may be too

† A paper read at the joint session of the American Farm Economics Association and the Rural Sociological Society, Detroit, December 29, 1938.

* Economist in Rural Life, Agricultural Experiment Station, A. & M. College of Texas.

¹ *The Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products, 1937* (Washington: USDC Census Bureau, 1938).

² *Farm Implement News*, April 7, 1938; April 8, 1937.

³ *Farm Cars and Tractors Superannuated*, News Release, Special T-1 (Washington: USDC Census Bureau, 1938).

low by 17,000, for, during the same period, gasoline tax refunds to farmers using tractors increased 57 per cent.⁴

TABLE 1
FARM EQUIPMENT SOLD FOR USE IN THE UNITED STATES, 1922-37

Year	Value		Per cent of Tractors
	All Types of Farm Equipment	Tractors	
1937	\$507,146,913	\$214,192,212	42.0
1936	409,090,155	171,850,905	42.0
1935	302,259,557	123,432,843	40.8
1930	382,190,716	133,054,559	34.8
1929	458,091,248	155,406,163	33.9
1928	402,872,036	122,281,032	30.4
1927	391,868,822	131,667,221	33.6
1926	364,751,042	105,001,649	28.8
1925	340,271,234	92,506,790	27.2
1924	277,924,547	74,063,314	26.6
1923	311,976,047	77,418,955	24.8
1922	222,907,764	53,860,771	24.2

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. Reports on the *Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products*. Data for 1931-34. Figures for years previous to 1937, quoted from Paul S. Taylor, "Power Farming and Labor Displacement in the Cotton Belt," page 27. United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Serial No. R737.

TABLE 2
TREND IN THE NUMBER OF HORSES, MULES, AND TRACTORS ON FARMS,
TEXAS AND THE UNITED STATES, 1920 TO 1938

Year	UNITED STATES				TEXAS			
	Number in 1000's				Number in 1000's			
	Horses	Mules	Total Workstock	Tractors	Horses	Mules	Total Workstock	Tractors
1938	11,163	4,477	15,640	1,528	714	740	1,454	99
1937	11,445	4,571	16,016	1,383	707	787	1,494	88
1936	11,635	4,684	16,319	1,248	693	837	1,530	74
1935	11,858	4,818	16,676	*	686	890	1,576	*
1930	13,511	5,375	18,886	920	780	1,053	1,835	37
1925	16,401	5,681	22,082	506	1,000	1,220	2,220	17
1920	19,767	5,432	25,200	246	1,240	1,060	2,300	9

*No data.

Source: U. S. Census of Agriculture, III (1935), 243 for data from 1920 to 1935. Data on horses and mules, 1936 to 1938, from the Division of Crop and Livestock Estimates. Data on tractors from the *Farm Implement News*, April, 1936, 1937, 1938.

⁴ This conclusion is verified by the results of farm management studies (Ben H. Thibodeaux, C. A. Bonnen, and A. C. Magee, *An Economic Study of Farm Organization in the High Plains Cotton Farming Area of Texas*, to be published shortly by the Texas AES in

TYPES AND REGIONS OF MECHANIZATION

The increase in the use of the all-purpose, rubber-tired tractor has characterized and dominated recent agricultural mechanization in the United States. For instance, of the 565,792 tractors sold for domestic use, 72.7 per cent were of the all-purpose type, and nearly 50 per cent of these were equipped with rubber tires (Table 4). The all-purpose tractor designed to list or flat-break two rows or furrows at a time has been most common. During the past year farm machinery manufacturers have begun to feature smaller tractors designed for one-row equipment. A streamlined, completely enclosed tractor, equipped with radio, spittoon, and cigar lighter, has also been developed for the gentlemen farmers who, since 1933, have found farming to be so attractive.

TABLE 3

RECENT TRENDS IN THE AMOUNT OF GASOLINE TAX REFUNDS TO TEXAS FARMERS, SHOWING ESTIMATED NUMBER OF GASOLINE TRACTORS IN USE, 1931 TO 1938

Fiscal Years (Ending Aug. 31)	All Refunds	Refunds to Farmers*	Per cent to Farmers	Estimated Number of Tractors	
				A†	B‡
1938	\$6,871,362	\$4,640,414	67.5	116,010	98,966
1937	5,780,486	3,682,661	63.7	92,067	88,306
1936	4,837,800	2,951,596	61.0	73,789	73,981
1935	3,507,329	2,037,705	58.1	50,943	.....
1934	3,143,460	1,749,611	55.7	43,740	.....
1933	2,803,832	1,512,960	54.0	37,824	.....
1932	3,275,142	2,009,431	61.4	50,236	.....
1931	2,792,047	1,603,971	57.4	40,099	.....

*Refund made at the rate of 4c. per gallon.

†Assuming that the average refund per tractor was \$40.

‡Estimates made by the Farm Equipment Institute, Chicago, Illinois, on the basis of estimated tractors sold in each state and an allowance made for obsolescence.

Source: Annual Reports of the Comptroller of Public Accounts of the State of Texas, 1931 to 1938 and the *Farm Implement News*, April, 1936, 1937, and 1938.

co-operation with the BAE, USDA; *A Study to Determine the Social and Economic Effects on Farms of a Definitely Planned Program of Soil Conservation*, now in progress by the US Soil Conservation Service, BAE, and Texas AES co-operating; the assistance of Mr. C. H. Bates, associate agricultural economist, leader of the project, is acknowledged) which show the average annual gasoline consumption per two-row all-purpose tractor to be slightly over 1,000 gallons in the highly mechanized areas of West Texas and approximately 750 gallons in the less mechanized Blackland area. The low consumption per tractor in the Blackland is offset by the higher consumption by four-row tractors on the plains and by the larger tractors found in the Panhandle Wheat area. Since, however, the two-row all-purpose tractor is the most prevalent type in Texas, a rough estimate of 1,000 gallons per tractor may be used. At four cents per gallon, the state refund would amount to \$40 per tractor. The amount of gasoline taxes refunded to farmers in Texas during the year ending August 1, 1938, was \$4,640,414. Therefore, if the average tractor consumed

TABLE 4
NUMBER AND VALUE OF TRACTORS MANUFACTURED IN THE UNITED STATES
BY TYPE OF TRACTOR, 1935 TO 1937

Type	Number			Value		
	1937	1936	1935	1937	1936	1935
All tractors.....	283,155	227,185	161,131	\$268,394,076	\$214,853,968	\$147,825,552
Wheel*.....	53,882	39,068	31,741	42,384,936	28,509,515	24,397,535
All-purpose.....	183,955	154,879	106,343	117,300,669	92,291,844	59,030,069
Track-laying.....	34,602	27,299	18,774	66,418,335	54,602,581	37,056,960
Garden.....	10,716	5,939	4,273	1,575,415	1,101,054	816,108

*Except all-purpose.

Source: United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *The Manufacture and Sale of Farm Equipment and Related Products, 1937*, p. 5.

The types of machines powered by the all-purpose tractor, as well as the types of farming being mechanized, should be given attention. One of the characteristics of recent mechanization trends is that nearly all types of farming are being invaded in varying degrees. Mechanization in the production of wheat, corn, and cotton has, of course, been most spectacular; but the mechanization of such crops as potatoes and beets should not be overlooked. Truck crops in general, however, present many obstacles to mechanization.⁵ Although wheat is the most highly mechanized of all the major crops, there has been a surprisingly large amount of mechanization in wheat states during the past few years—most surprising when the effects of the drought and depression are given due consideration. This is illustrated by the fact that the number of tractors in the West North Central States increased from 318,160 in 1930 to 504,157 in 1938.

Although the greatest degree of mechanization is found in the North Central States, the highest rates of recent mechanization are found in the South and Southwest. Mississippi leads the Old South both in the number of tractors added since 1930 and in the rate of increase; the number

1,000 gallons, the number of tractors in use in Texas during 1938 must have been approximately 116,000. If the Farm Equipment Institute's estimate is correct (and it may be) the average consumption of gas per tractor would be about 1,172 gallons per year (Table 3). It is entirely possible, of course, that the mean consumption of gasoline per tractor has been increasing in the more recent years. It is interesting to note that the Institute's estimate for 1936 is almost identical with that based upon the 1,000 gallon per year estimated consumption; and that my estimate for 1931 (Estimate A, Table 3) of 40,099 is very close to the number of farm tractors enumerated in 1930—37,348.

⁵ See the forthcoming report by J. C. Schilleter, Robert B. Elwood, and Harry E. Knowlton, *Changing Technology and Labor Requirements of Crop Production: Vegetable*, a WPA National Research Project.

of tractors increasing from 5,542 in 1930 to 14,703 in 1938, an increase of 165 per cent. In the Southwest, Texas leads with 61,618 tractors added—an increase over 1930 of 165 per cent. It is interesting to note that there were estimated to be more tractors in Texas than in eight Old South cotton states—reaching from North Carolina and Georgia to Arkansas and Louisiana (Table 5). Although, the old cotton states of the South still have few tractors compared with the North and West, they all show high rates of mechanization.

The most rapid mechanization of cotton farming has occurred in the western cotton areas of Texas and Oklahoma. Several large areas in Texas are almost completely mechanized, e.g., the High and Low Plains, the Corpus Christi Area. Bonnen and Magee⁶ found that of 141 repre-

TABLE 5

TREND IN THE NUMBER OF TRACTORS IN USE IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN SELECTED GROUPS OF STATES

Group	Year					
	1938	1937	1936	1930	1925	1920
Number:						
The United States.....	1,527,989	1,382,872	1,248,337	920,021	505,933	246,083
Ten highly mechanized states*	690,266	630,236	577,215	397,687	229,936	129,269
Eight Old South cotton states†	97,473	84,888	74,236	48,529	30,841	13,817
Texas.....	98,966	88,306	73,981	37,348	16,780	9,048
Remainder of the United States	641,284	579,442	522,905	436,457	228,376	93,949
Percentage distribution:						
The United States.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Ten highly mechanized states..	45.2	45.6	46.2	43.2	45.4	52.5
Eight Old South cotton states.	6.4	6.1	5.9	5.3	6.1	5.6
Texas.....	6.5	6.4	5.9	4.1	3.3	3.7
Remainder of the United States	42.0	41.9	41.9	47.4	45.1	38.2

*Illinois, North Dakota, Kansas, Iowa, South Dakota, Nebraska, Montana, California, New Jersey, and Indiana.

†North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana.

Source: *Farm Implement News* for data of 1936, 1937, and 1938. United States Census for the years 1920, 1925, and 1930.

sentative farms in the High Plains in 1937, 79 per cent were depending on tractor power and multi-row equipment as compared with only 26 per cent in 1931. They also noted a very rapid increase in the use of four-row equipment. In many Plains areas practically 100 per cent of the farms depend upon tractor power.⁷

⁶ C. A. Bonnen and A. C. Magee, "Some Technological Changes in the High Plains Cotton Area of Texas," *Journal of Farm Economics*, XX (August, 1938).

⁷ *A Study of Farm Mechanization and Farm Labor Changes: 1938*, a Texas AES, WPA, and FSA study now in progress.

The farms in the Blacklands of Texas are also being mechanized at a rapid rate. Reconnaissance surveys indicate that at least 30 per cent of the Blackland farmers use tractors and that possibly 50 per cent of the crop land is cultivated with tractors.

The large plantations of the river bottoms have been slow to mechanize. Nevertheless, a survey of 196 plantations revealed that the number of tractors on them had doubled during the past four years. The average plantation had 1.5 tractors and 382 acres of cotton in 1938.⁸ Most of the tractors on these plantations were used only for breaking, discing, roadwork, and ditching. Many plantation operators interviewed stated that they expected to shift to tractors extensively in the near future. Two important factors, however, will retard mechanization on plantations: (1) Because of the dense weed growth, the heavy foliage of the cotton plant, and the slow opening of the cotton bolls, a relatively large proportion of labor used in cotton production on the plantations must be hand labor; and (2) because of the restrictions of the agricultural conservation program, plantations cannot utilize the additional land released by mechanization in either cotton production or in the production of livestock and feed for the market. A small farmer can milk a few cows or feed some calves and hogs without conspicuously violating the regulations of the agricultural conservation program; but a shift to commercial livestock farming on plantations could not escape notice. Furthermore, the plantation is set up primarily for commercial cotton production, and not for mixed or general farming. The type of labor needed for cotton picking is entirely different from that needed for livestock farming.

FARM MECHANIZATION AND THE USE OF MAN LABOR

Long before the tractor became an important source of farm power, the development of laborsaving machines, together with other changes in technology, had greatly reduced the amount of labor needed per unit of agricultural product or per unit of land cultivated. For instance, it has been estimated that, in 1830, 288 hours of man-labor were required to produce a hundred bushels of wheat on five acres of land. By 1880, with the use of machines available at that time, a hundred bushels of wheat could be produced with only 129 hours of man-labor; and by

⁸ *Ibid.*

1900, only 86 man-hours were required. Finally, by 1930 only 49 man-hours were needed to produce 100 bushels of wheat on five acres.⁹

In the production of corn the number of man-hours needed to produce 100 bushels dropped from about 180 in 1880 to 104 in 1930.¹⁰ Since 1930 the perfection and the increased use of corn-picking and corn-husking machinery has probably reduced the number of hours needed still further. The average amount of labor now actually used in the production of 100 bushels of corn in the United States as a whole has been recently estimated to be 90 man-hours, as compared with only 49 hours in the corn belt.¹¹ Between 1911 and 1934, the same report indicates that the total number of hours of man-labor used to produce the nation's corn crop decreased from 2,898 millions to 2,276 millions, or approximately 21.5 per cent.

In the production of cotton, with the exception of harvesting, a similar condition prevails. McCrory and others, in a National Resources Committee report, estimate that, on the average, in 1930 only 235 man-hours were required to produce a bale of cotton as compared to 285 in 1900, and 304 in 1880.¹² Holley and Arnold, in a WPA National Research report, estimate that the actual number of man-hours required to produce one bale of cotton decreased from 271 in the period 1907-11 to 218 in the period 1933-36.¹³ This same report shows, however, that only 178 man-hours were required to produce one bale in the entire western cotton area¹⁴ in the period 1933-36. Furthermore, the total number of man-hours utilized annually in cotton production in the United States decreased from 3,343 millions in the period 1907-11 to 2,489 in the period 1933-36, a decrease of 25.5 per cent. A part of this decline was due to the fact that in the latter period the annual production of cotton

⁹ W. M. Hurst and L. M. Church, *Power and Machinery in Agriculture*, USDA Miscellaneous Publication 157 (Washington, 1933).

¹⁰ S. H. McCrory, R. F. Hendrickson, and Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy*, National Resources Committee, Section on Agriculture.

¹¹ Loring K. Macy, Lloyd E. Arnold, and Eugene G. McKibben, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Corn*, WPA National Research Project Report A-5 (Philadelphia, 1938).

¹² *Op. cit.*

¹³ W. C. Holley and Lloyd C. Arnold, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Cotton*, WPA National Research Project Report A-7 (Philadelphia, 1938).

¹⁴ The area reaching from Central Texas (not including the Blackland) to California. In some of the highly mechanized areas of the West the number of man-hours required per acre may be as low as 20 or 25.

in the United States was nearly a million bales less than it was in the former period. Also in the latter period cotton production had shifted to the western areas where labor requirements per bale were lower than in the older areas.

Other WPA National Research reports indicate that there have also been substantial reductions in the number of man-hours used in producing sugar beets and potatoes.¹⁵ In the case of sugar beets the reduction in the use of man-labor was about 17 per cent between the periods 1920-24 and 1928-32, dropping from 112 man-hours per acre in the former period to 94 in the latter. However, the full effect of recently developed harvesting machinery has not been felt in the case of sugar beets.

The number of man-hours required to produce an acre of potatoes in selected areas has decreased from 86 to 64 between the period 1909-13 and 1934-36, a decrease of 25.6 per cent. Since 1910 it is estimated that approximately 50,000,000 man-hours of labor have been eliminated in the production of the nation's potato crop.

In other commercial truck crops the trend in labor demand is generally upward. Mechanization in the production of many vegetable crops is very difficult; and, owing to rapid urbanization, the acreages of such crops have expanded considerably in the last few years. The same might be said about many fruit crops. A forthcoming WPA National Research report will show that the total number of man-hours utilized in the production of fifteen vegetable crops was approximately 400,000,000 annually in the period 1932-36 as compared with only 200,000,000 in the period 1909-13.¹⁶ Because of continued urbanization, commercial vegetable production may be expected to expand. Mechanization of vegetable production will probably be quite slow, particularly in harvesting operations.

The net result of recent trends in farm mechanization (along with other technological changes) has been summarized in the most recent report of the WPA National Research Project. Briefly stated, this report shows that: "From 1909 to 1929 the output per person working in agriculture increased approximately 37 per cent. This increased productivity made it possible for 7.5 fewer persons to produce an agricul-

¹⁵ Macy, Arnold, and McKibben, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ Schilleter, Elwood, and Knowlton, *op. cit.*

tural output which was 27 per cent greater in 1929 than in 1909."¹⁷ Other studies indicate a similar situation.¹⁸

MECHANIZATION IN THE COTTON BELT

The extent of mechanization and the decrease in the demand for labor in cotton farming have been indicated. The social effects of mechanization will now be presented briefly. The displacement of thousands of farm croppers, tenants, and farm laborers is the most serious problem. Adequate data are not available to show the complete picture in all its details, but a number of recent studies and surveys do reveal that the situation is a most critical one. Bonnen and Magee¹⁹ have shown that the use of two-row tractor-powered farm equipment on all farm land in the High Plains of Texas would reduce the number of farms to 58 per cent of the 1935 Census count; and that the use of four-row tractor equipment would further reduce the number of farms to 33 per cent of the 1935 figure. Langsford and Thibodeaux²⁰ have shown how the mechanization of plantations in the Mississippi Delta area would reduce the plantation labor force per plantation (having 750 acres of crops) from 40 families under the horse-drawn one-row system, to 24 families under a four-row tractor system. This amounts to a decrease of 40 per cent. In this estimate they are quite conservative, because they are assuming that some of the 24 families would be kept there primarily for the purpose of hoeing and picking cotton. If the Delta should come to depend upon transient labor as the Plains and Blacklands of Texas do, then less than 24 families might be kept on the plantation. Already we know of many instances where transient cotton pickers have been transported in trucks from Texas to Mississippi.

That actual population displacement in Texas cotton-growing areas has reached serious proportions is demonstrated by the 1937 Texas Population Changes Survey which indicated a decrease of over 20,000 farms in the state between January 1, 1937, and January 1, 1938.²¹ Since many displaced families from cotton farms probably migrate to noncotton

¹⁷ Eldon E. Shaw and John A. Hopkins, *Trends in Employment in Agriculture, 1909-36*, WPA National Research Project Report A-8 (Philadelphia, 1938).

¹⁸ McCrory, Hendrickson, and Committee, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ E. L. Langsford and Ben H. Thibodeaux, *Plantation Operation and Operation in the Yazoo Mississippi Delta Area*, MS of bulletin soon to be published; based on a co-operative study between the BAE, USDA and the Mississippi AES.

²¹ C. Horace Hamilton, *Population Changes in Texas, 1937*, mimeographed release, Division of Farm and Ranch Economics, Texas A. & M. College AES.

farms, the displacement from cotton farms has probably been greater than 20,000 families. In connection with the annual population surveys for the past two years scores of letters have been received from correspondents giving illustrations of the displacement of farm tenants and laborers by tractors. The displacement of from three to five families by one tractor is not uncommon. One case was reported where nine families were displaced by one tractor. Assuming that one tractor will displace one family only, more than 60,000 farm families have probably been displaced from Texas farms since 1930. Also, since the number of tractors on Texas farms increased about 50,000 in a three-year period before April 1, 1938, it may be estimated that more than 10,000 families have been displaced annually from Texas farms since 1935.

"Where do these displaced farm families go?" is a question which is frequently asked. Many of them, as I have already indicated, move to poor farms, unsuited to cotton production. A larger number migrate to towns and cities and become common laborers, alternating between agriculture and the town. Many displaced tenants and croppers remain in the open country as partially employed farm or common laborers. At the time of this writing, the Texas Works Progress Administration reports a certified caseload of 80,000 farm families—48,000 of whom were awaiting assignment. A late report is that some of these people are to be shifted to the care of the Farm Security Administration, which is already assisting nearly 30,000 Texas farm families. Welfare and Employment Service offices in the state for the past two years have been reporting unusually heavy requests for aid from these displaced farm families. The 1937 Census of Unemployment showed approximately 130,000 unemployed and partially unemployed agricultural workers in the state. This is almost identical with the number of agricultural wage workers reported as employed by the 1935 Agricultural Census.

The displaced family faces the prospect of a lower income. The typical farm tenant in the High Plains or in the Blackland may be expected to earn a net farm income of from \$800 to \$1,000 annually—even with cotton prices as they are today. As either a common or an agricultural laborer the same tenant cannot expect to earn more than from \$250 to \$300. A survey just completed in Texas shows the farm laborer family median income to have been only \$220 in 1937, when opportunities were excellent for cotton picking.²²

²² "A Study of Farm Mechanization," *op. cit.*

The surplus of farm tenants available has created considerable competition among tenants for places to rent; and, as a result, rental rates are rising. In areas that once followed the straight third-and-fourth share rent systems, cash rents and privilege rents of various types are being used. Pasture land, which tenants formerly received free of rent, now rents frequently for one dollar per acre. In some areas tenants are being charged cash rent for their dwellings. In many areas from three to six dollars per acre is being charged for land planted in feed crops. On many of these farms the cash rent on the feed land amounts to more than the income from cotton. Many cases are being reported also of an increase in cotton share rent from one fourth to one third.

The mechanization of cotton farms has increased what might be called the *patch-cropper* system. The patch-cropper, similar to a hoe-cropper in some of the southeastern states, may receive a small cash wage and in addition the cotton produced on a four- or five-acre patch. In West Texas the patch may be as large as 35 or 40 acres, and the cropper may receive a cash wage as well as some perquisites. No surveys are available to show the extent and characteristics of the patch-cropper system over wide areas.

The mechanization of cotton farms in Texas and in some other states has greatly enlarged and intensified the transient labor problem. New social relations, institutions, and problems are arising out of this situation. Already there has developed a widespread private and unregulated system of transporting transient labor—a system which has in it great possibilities of labor exploitation. The labor contractor furnishes a large open truck, recruits a group of laborers, and transports them, presumably free of charge, across the state as the cotton picking and the truck and fruit harvesting seasons progress. The contractor, usually a Mexican with a truck, is a contact man and business agent for the laborers. He takes the responsibility for contacting farmers, weighing and hauling cotton (or truck crops), and of collecting the laborers' earnings from the farmer. For these services and for transporting the laborers, the contractor receives from the laborer from five to ten cents for each hundred pounds of cotton picked, and from the farmer about \$1.50 per bale.

The rapid increase in the transient labor population has complicated health, sanitation, and housing problems in towns where labor concentrates. The farm population of some large cotton counties is virtually doubled during the busy part of the picking season. There is a movement on foot to provide both temporary and permanent camps for tran-

sient laborers at strategic centers in the state. Already a number of small towns in cotton centers have co-operated with the Texas Employment Service in setting up temporary camps equipped with shower baths and sanitary toilets. These camps serve as points of contact for laborers and employers. On any Sunday during the cotton-picking season these camps are greatly congested with trucks, old cars, and people—farmers, cotton pickers, men, women, and children. During the mornings there will be seen much informal dickering between farmers, labor contractors, and heads of families. A farmer will approach a group of pickers, contact the contractor and perhaps two or three of the family heads. Information as to the number of pickers, amount of cotton, camping or housing facilities, and wage rates are quickly exchanged. If the preliminary information is suitable to both pickers and farmers, a quick trip is then made to inspect the field of cotton. Large groups or truckloads of pickers prefer, of course, the larger fields and the thicker cotton. If the field is small, the cotton yield low, or the cotton very difficult to pick, the leaders go back to camp and make another contact—unless perchance they are stopped en route by a farmer looking for pickers. If the cotton is satisfactory, the truck returns to the camp and brings the entire group of pickers out to the farm where they usually stay until the crop is picked over once. Because of the fact that most of the transient pickers move in large groups, small farmers quite frequently have difficulty in locating pickers. Labor is also difficult to get for second pickings.

Just how many years the mechanized cotton farms will be able to get an ample supply of cotton pickers at prevailing wages remains to be seen. No strong effort has been made to organize this important group of workers—which, it is estimated, number between 200,000 and 300,000. Under conditions that are developing, some sort of labor organization may appear. If the organization of cotton pickers should be successful, the cost of picking cotton might rise to the extent that the farmers would lose much of what they have gained by mechanization. If such a condition ever arises, we may expect a widespread demand for mechanical cotton pickers. Several mechanical pickers have already been developed. Although their performance is still much below that of hand pickers, the leading agricultural engineers believe that the development of a successful cotton picker is now a possibility. The mechanization of the preharvest operations in cotton production will very probably speed the development of harvesting machinery. In the event of a major war, an acute shortage of labor might be the final and deciding factor in the

adoption of mechanical cotton harvesting machines, just as the World War was a great factor in the mechanization of the wheat harvest. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems to me that mechanical cotton picking could very easily become an actuality within the next ten or fifteen years.²³ When that time comes, the southern part of the country may present the nation with its social and economic problem number two!

CONCLUSION

In this paper we have had the time and space to present only some of the more immediate effects of recent trends of mechanization in agriculture. If there are those in this group who would contend that the conditions which have been described are only temporary, may I call your attention to some of the more permanent social effects of mechanization. Mechanization in agriculture has been going on for a hundred years or more. It is likely to continue for many decades. Even though technological unemployment brought about by the introduction of one machine may disappear in time, we would still be faced with problems of a continuously changing technology and hence continuous problems of human maladjustment.

The invention of machines and, what is more important, their exploitation by monopolistic corporations may be considered as one very effective means by which a nonagricultural economic group cuts out for itself a juicy slice of agricultural income. In this sense, farm machinery manufacturers and the large oil companies are engaged in the process of agricultural production, without having to take nearly so many of the risks as does the farmer. Just how these outside interests are able to capitalize on the situation is indicated in a recent report of the Federal Trade Commission. Among other things this report is quoted as saying:

The ability of the International Harvester Company to make more net profits in 1937 than it made in 1929 (in fact enough to break all records for net earnings before 1937), though the cash income of the farmer for 1937 was nearly 18 per cent less than it was in 1929, can, the Commission believes, have only one explanation. It was the result of a policy by the International Harvester Company

²³ Roman L. Horne and Eugene G. McKibben, *Changes in Technology and Labor Requirements in Crop Production: Mechanical Cotton Picker*, WPA National Research Project Report A-2 (Philadelphia, 1938); E. A. Johnston, "The Evolution of the Mechanical Cotton Harvester," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938); H. P. Smith, "Progress in Mechanical Harvesting of Cotton," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938); Charles A. Bennett, "The Relation of Mechanical Harvesting to the Production of High Grade Cotton," *Agricultural Engineering*, XIX (September, 1938).

to advance prices, which policy could not have succeeded if conditions of free and open competition had prevailed in this industry.²⁴

The situation just referred to illustrates only one way in which the farmers of today have become more dependent on outside economic forces than were the farmers of a hundred and fifty years ago. One authority on this subject summarized the results of technological advance in agriculture as follows:

In 1787, the year the constitution was framed, the surplus food produced by 19 farmers went to feed one city person. In recent average years 19 people on farms have produced enough food for 56 non-farm people, plus ten people living abroad.²⁵

If this statement is true, then the farmer of today is sixty-six times more dependent upon outside markets, economic conditions, and organizations than was the farmer of a hundred and fifty years ago. Temporarily, mechanization increases the individual farmer's income; but ultimately, if mechanization actually lowers cash costs, he is forced to cut his prices, and at the same time pay higher costs for land and fixed costs for both land, machinery, and motor fuel. The only possible way for the farmer to maintain the favorable position which he has gained by mechanization would be to imitate the industrialists and organize a monopoly with or without the help of the government. Temporarily, farmers might be successful by adopting such a program; but since this is a democracy and since the farmer is outnumbered more than four to one, what chances does he have of maintaining such a position?

Another way in which the farmer loses some of the advantages of mechanization is through continually rising standards and costs of living. He has apparently increased his productivity in doing a few things; but he has relinquished to others the doing of a hundred things which he once did himself with little or no cash costs. Therefore, we may well ask, "What does the farmer of today have in terms of ultimate human values, contentment, leisure, mental health, and security that the farmer of 1787 did not have? And as "farmer" in this question we must include farm laborers as well as the farmers who operate hundreds of acres with machinery.

Another angle to this question is the fact that the mechanized farmer and the machinery manufacturer have shifted a lot of their costs to the shoulders of the state. There is little need here to enumerate the many

²⁴ "Farm Implement Manufacturers' Income," *Farm Implement News*, July 14, 1938.

²⁵ McCrory, Hendrickson, and Committee, *op. cit.*

services which the state now performs for rural and urban residents. True enough, industry and mechanized agriculture must ultimately bear some of these costs through taxation or through depreciation in government bonds; but the economic and political system by which such an indirect payment of costs is made necessary is neither desirable nor efficient. There are too many groups of one kind or another who are trying to get, and are succeeding in getting, a larger and larger slice of the producer's income. We have reached the point where governmental employees and beneficiaries of governmental assistance are currently cartooned and lampooned as being enemies and parasites of society.

The development of new governmental functions and programs, such as social security, farm security, agricultural adjustment, the works program, and the housing program, is the fruit of poorly controlled mechanization—in both industry and agriculture. Under our old rural culture we had developed the *family-farm institution* in such a way that our social needs, such as education, care of the aged, the dependent, and the unemployed were met without any elaborate political organization or expense. The fact that we are now spending billions of dollars to do things which were once done by the farm family for itself demonstrates in a dramatic manner just how valuable the *family-farm institution* was to society.

Along with the machines which the farmer has bought, he has been furnished with a set of ideas about the social advantages of mechanization. He has, for instance, been thoroughly imbued with the theory of social and technological progress; the theory that social and historical evolution is always onward and upward; the theory that older and simpler forms of agrarian and social organization passed away because they were bad; and, finally, the theory that he need not exert any effort to develop new social organizations and institutions, because what he has are adequate, and if they were not adequate new ones would in some mysterious manner come into existence as a result of more, bigger, and better machines.

We might clarify the issue here by saying that just as we cannot attribute social evils to the inanimate machine, neither should we attribute to the machine some mysterious capacity to mold and develop our social life. The actual forces that determine the patterns of our social institutions are more likely to be human than mechanical in character. Whether or not machines are to do the wonderful things claimed for them depends upon how individuals and groups of individuals make them, how

they sell them, how they manage them, and, finally, how they distribute their products. In the final analysis we must evaluate the social effects of mechanization, not by what these social effects might be under certain ideal conditions yet to be realized, but rather upon what the social effects are here and now or have been in recent years.

Still another permanent social effect of farm mechanization and other technological changes is the fact that a larger and larger percentage of agricultural products going into the market is being produced by a smaller and smaller percentage of the farm population. In 1930 the Census reports show that about 90 per cent of farm products going into the market come from 50 per cent of the farms of the nation. Since today there are more people on farms than in 1930 and since the mechanization of farms has displaced thousands of people from commercial farms, the probability is that much less than 50 per cent of our farms are producing 90 per cent of the farm products going into the market. If this were not true, then 600,000 farmers during the past few years have blundered in buying tractors. As individuals they did not make mistakes. Many of them had either to mechanize or to quit. However, as a group they have, with the help of their city brothers, contributed to a very critical social problem.

We might conclude this paper by pointing out that the social effects of mechanization in agriculture should not be considered as entirely isolated from other technological and economic trends. Mechanization of agriculture is rather a part, a very important part, of the current and ever-changing order of things. Its significance cannot be appreciated without an understanding of the entire social and economic order; nor can much be done about it, without doing something about the rest of the world at the same time. As one writer put it, we are in a position where it seems we cannot continue mechanization without great social cost nor can we stop it without great social cost.²⁶

The question of the hour, it has been said, is whether or not we can develop some efficient and stable social institutions which will control the machine and give us the same social and human values which are enjoyed under a more simple agrarian organization. If you should ask me at this time whether I think that such institutions could be developed, I should be forced to reply: "Yes, but it is quite improbable." The social system toward which we are now evolving seems to be little more than a set of makeshift compromises in a descending spirit of

²⁶ *Ibid.*

social disintegration. However, if it is necessary that I end this paper on an optimistic note, it may be said that a downward spiral is more pleasant than a downward plunge. So, if it is down that we must go, let us make the spirals as long and as wide as possible. Who knows but that we may hit an upward current somewhere and see yet again the mountain heights of freedom and democracy!

DISCUSSION

After hearing Dr. Hamilton's paper, I am sure that none of us should be complacent in pondering the social effects of the mechanization of agriculture. While we all recognize that mechanization on farms is nothing new, Dr. Hamilton has pointed out that the accelerated rate at which it has been taking place during recent years is something new. Since adjustment to changing conditions is usually more difficult when changes come about abruptly, and since technological change on farms has been very rapid in recent years, we should not be surprised that social maladjustments of a serious nature are already apparent. If the social problems created by mechanization where it has already proceeded much further than in most rural areas, are typical of the problems likely to be encountered in many other areas as mechanization increases, it would seem that social scientists should be studying this vanguard of problems carefully.

In order to approach intelligently a consideration of the social effects of the mechanization of agriculture, we should appraise carefully all of the values in rural life. Just what will we gain and what will we lose if all of the land adapted to mechanization becomes mechanized to a high degree?

Technological change, whether on the farm or in the city, raises the question of manpower. Dr. Hamilton has brought out that mechanization of agriculture reduces considerably the requirements for manpower on the farms of the nation and rightly raises the question as to what will happen to farm families displaced by machines. (I should like for him to have brought out more clearly the probable social effects of mechanization upon those farm families who are able to remain in agriculture.)

If we could be assured that farmers—either owners, tenants, or farm laborers—displaced by machines could find employment off the farm, we might not be greatly concerned about displacement except as it might affect the balance between farm and nonfarm population in this country. Actually, however, there are not enough jobs available, either in cities or in rural towns, to absorb these displaced people. We see therefore that mechanization at least at the present time is contributing to the unemployment problem of the nation. Is it possible that instead of displacing farmers by machines, attempts will be made to "spread the work" among all of them? Is it conceivable that some day we may have an AAA program designed to reduce hours of work on farms rather than acreage? Since larger farms are usually better adapted to mechanization than are smaller or family size farms, will mechanization create a pronounced trend toward larger farms? If so, would a penalty tax on farms adapted to mechanization, graduated

upward with the size and value of the farm, be a desirable device to be used, at least temporarily, to slow up mechanization until planned social adjustments could be effectuated, and in this way ameliorate its undesirable effect in displacement of farmers with no other means of earning a living? Could some type of legislation be enacted designed to protect agricultural workers displaced by machines? Would a tax on the use of the machines themselves, the proceeds of which would go to displaced farmers until they could secure other employment, be of any value? I am sorry that Dr. Hamilton, who has studied the social effects of mechanization, and who pointed out in his paper many of these social effects, either directly or by implication, did not give us more clues as to his ideas of what "types of social institutions could be set up to control the machine."

If the use of heavy power equipment such as the four-row cultivator becomes more and more common, is it not likely to concentrate the ownership of larger and larger acreages within the hands of fewer and fewer owners? Such a trend would be a definite threat to the family-size farm, and it forces us to consider just what the values are in this institution, and to ask ourselves whether or not it is worth preserving. The family-size farm, and by such a farm I mean one on which outside labor is not employed, in my opinion offers greater opportunities to farmers, whether they own or rent the land, than were they to become farm laborers. Since the only way the size of farms can be increased is for one farmer to buy or rent the farms now owned or operated by his neighbors, or for an outside investor to buy several farms now owned or operated by several farmers, it appears that the enlargement of farms to any great extent for the purpose of mechanizing farming will force many present operators of family-size farms to become farm laborers.

Some interesting questions are raised by an incident which occurred in Illinois last spring. A landlord turned a tenant family off his farm, tore down the buildings which were quite old, thereby reducing his taxes on the farm, and then rented his land to a neighboring farmer who had recently procured high powered farming equipment. Many people are concerned today about the increase in farm tenancy and the lack of opportunity for tenants to become farm owners. Is it possible that sometime in the future, because of the increased amounts of capital required to equip large rented farms with power machinery, to finance the purchase of fuel for the machinery, and to pay wages to necessary machine operators, these people may transfer their concern from the tenancy problem to the difficulties involved in farm laborers' becoming tenants? Efforts to preserve family-size farms now may obviate the necessity later of coping with problems resulting from a greater proportion of farm people making up a comparatively permanent farm labor class. Should we ever have a relatively permanent farm labor class in this country, is there a possibility that because of mechanization the laborers will have to be better trained and more highly skilled than present farm laborers? What of the possibilities of organization among farm laborers? Would we be likely to have two types of organizations in rural areas, one made up of the employers, i.e., the large owner-operators and tenants, and the other made up of landless laborers?

If, in order to compete with mechanized farmers, the operators of family-size farms feel that they too must mechanize, I have the suggestion to offer that four or five of them go together in buying the equipment and use it co-operatively. If one of the group absorbed the farms of the others and owned the equipment himself, part of the group might be displaced entirely and others of necessity become farm laborers. The success of thousands of rehabilitation clients of the Farm Security Administration in the co-operative ownership and use of farm implements is encouraging in this connection.

Since mechanization tends to make for a greater degree of commercialization in farming, farmers who are thinking of mechanizing their farms should consider carefully how the probable accompanying increase in commercialization would affect their future security. If they mechanize, they will probably be more dependent upon the market place than before. For example, they would have to convert some of their labor into cash to be paid in wages to laborers engaged in pumping and refining oil to be used as fuel for the power machinery. Many of the most highly commercialized farmers found during the depression that they were not in so good a position to meet adversity as were some of their neighbors who had not commercialized to as great an extent, but who were still using a larger portion of their land and labor to produce much of the family living directly and to raise feed for livestock. More information is needed as to what relationships exist between mechanization and commercialization, and what effect commercialization has upon the security of farm families.

A comprehensive study showing the number of repossessions made by implement dealers during the last couple of years might throw some light upon the whole subject of mechanization on farms.

No doubt many farmers have purchased mechanized equipment before thinking through the probable effects of its use upon their future security, and as a result have suffered an unnecessary loss. Not only low sales resistance but also pressure from landlords who because of the great competition among tenants for land have sometimes unwisely forced tenants to mechanize, is often a contributing factor in causing such losses. Would not a greater amount of information on the entire subject of mechanization, its advantages and disadvantages, conditions under which its practice might prove disastrous, its effect in displacing farmers, its possible threat to the institution of the family-size farm, the possibility that it may create a relatively permanent farm laborer class, its effect upon farmers who till land not adapted to mechanization, its effect in bringing about a higher degree of commercialization in farming, et cetera, be of value to farmers in deciding whether or not to mechanize? In my opinion, if rural educational and research institutions are rightly to hold a place of influence in this country, they will have to devote still greater efforts to giving the rural population of the nation more information on the social questions raised or implied in Dr. Hamilton's paper.

In addition to considering the effect of mechanization in displacing farmers, and its effects upon farmers remaining in agriculture in mechanized areas, we should consider its effects upon farm population living upon land not adapted

to mechanization. If mechanized farming should prove to be of distinct advantage to those engaged in it, other farmers on land not adapted to mechanization may be placed at a competitive disadvantage and have to suffer a reduction in their plane of living. Part time employment opportunities for still other farmers are also affected. For example, it has been estimated that the introduction of the mechanical cornpicker into Iowa has destroyed the opportunity for thousands of laborers to supplement their earnings by husking corn for a few weeks during the fall. The creation of a transient labor problem in some sections of the country has been covered in some detail by Dr. Hamilton. I should like to mention one other effect of mechanization, or perhaps I should say an effect of potential mechanization upon some farm people. This is the feeling of insecurity that it creates in the minds of some farmers. I had the interesting experience during the past summer of observing both makes of mechanical cotton pickers in operation. I questioned a number of negro and white cotton pickers working on the same plantations with the machines as to how an increased use of mechanical pickers might affect them. I received the same reply again and again: "We don't know, we don't know, we don't know." The expressions on their faces, however, told me better than words what they were thinking.

Dr. Hamilton, in a somewhat abortive attempt to end his paper on a note of optimism, held out as our only hope that we may by chance "hit an upward current somewhere." While it might be unwise to try to do something about a serious problem without knowing just what to do, it seems to me that it might be still more unwise to decide to do nothing without exploring fully all possibilities of doing something. Let us not wait until "an upward current" happens to come along, but instead be willing to experiment if necessary and create a few currents most likely to be "upward currents." I would not propose to stop technological change in agriculture. It appears, however, that there might be merit in attempting either to slow down technological change, if it is creating serious social maladjustments, until social change could catch up with it, or to attempt to speed up some of the processes of social change so that they might more nearly keep pace with technological change.

Whether one considers particular effects of mechanization of agriculture desirable or undesirable depends quite obviously upon his concept of an ideal rural life or national life. If the impact of mechanization of our farms upon rural life is creating, or threatens to create, serious new social problems or to aggravate old ones, it would seem that we need now, more than ever before, a frame of reference in relation to which these problems could be considered. If we know what kind of rural life we want in this country, we still may not be able to achieve it, but we are more likely to approach it with a goal in mind than with no goal at all. The planning and clear statement of a national policy for rural life seems to be needed. With objectives in mind perhaps various forces such as those of education and of legislation could be inclined more nearly in a common direction. While I do not believe that a policy for rural life can be developed without encountering many difficulties, I am trying to make the point that only confusion and great waste of effort will result if without such a policy we continue to use

our energies in many different directions at the same time. If, upon re-examining rural life minutely, a policy for rural life can be developed, it will have to be done in relation to a policy for national life as a whole. Since rural life makes certain definite contributions to national life, the portion of the total population of the nation which should live on farms, and the qualitative aspects of the values in rural life should be considered both from the standpoint of national welfare and of the welfare of the farm people themselves.

We are not likely to get the kind of a rural life that we want by trusting naively that it will come of itself without constructive effort. If we are to have a desirable form of rural life in America we will have to make positive efforts not only to secure it, but to keep it once it is attained.

Farm Security Administration
Indianapolis, Indiana

R. C. SMITH

DISCUSSION

The mechanization of agriculture has proceeded at a rapid rate and has produced problems of far-reaching significance. Doctor Hamilton has given an excellent picture of the extent of mechanization of agriculture in the South and to a lesser extent in other sections of the United States and has described some of the problems growing out of these changes in methods of producing farm products. The problems resulting in the South probably do not materially differ from the problems of other sections of the country as mechanization of agriculture proceeds. Farm labor is displaced, each farmer tends to farm a larger area, the capital requirements of agriculture increase, farm population tends to decrease, and farmers tend to become still more dependent upon market conditions. Those forced out of agriculture by this process present a sorry picture and their problems are the problems of all society as attempts are made to relieve their distress and to aid them in rehabilitating themselves elsewhere. It would be folly to attempt to minimize the problems involved. They challenge the best thinking and the best efforts of the present and succeeding generations. However, this does not mean that these problems cannot be solved. In the present difficult times the most baffling problem comes from those who pessimistically view the outlook and label it as hopeless and so attempt to do nothing, apparently choosing to await the downfall of our present civilization because we are unable, so they assume, to cope with the very forces that should result in an advancing civilization.

The problems growing out of the mechanization of agriculture probably are no greater, excepting perhaps in the number of people involved, than the problems arising from the mechanization of other industries. For example, the introduction of gigantic electrically operated steam shovels in the strip coal mining regions has displaced proportionately a far greater portion of the labor force involved. Many other instances could be cited of industries in which the adoption of machine methods has reduced labor requirements.

The problem of agriculture is quite similar to the problem of all economic society of the present. Methods of saving human effort are discovered and put into effect and then we are appalled by the problem of what to do with the labor

that has been saved. Less human effort is required to produce the material things we need. More time is available to utilize in securing those things which should raise standards of living and ultimately result in a better civilization than now exists. Modern society is confronted with the paradox of having made progress and then being unable to cope with the effects of its own progress.

The writer is unwilling to admit that the situation is hopeless and that all that is ahead of our society is slow disintegration as a consequence of our inability to utilize intelligently the results of our progress. On the other hand, the problems are not simple and their correction will not come easily. The situation calls for the most intelligent action of which we, as a people, are capable.

In considering these problems there seem to be certain important facts which should be kept in mind by those who would have a part in the correction of present difficulties during the next quarter of a century or more. Among these facts may be included the following:

1. The fact that no solutions for existing problems are in sight does not prove that these problems cannot be solved.
2. The problems of the present generation will not all be solved by the present generation. The important fact will be found in whether progress is made toward their solution. An advancing society creates problems which are handed on from one generation to the next.
3. The problems of the present will not be solved by going backward to the so-called "good old days" of greater use of hand labor and animal power or to the use of the hoe and the one-row cultivator.
4. Action by governmental agencies, local, state, and national, can be expected to play a greater part in the economic and social life of the future than it did a decade or more ago. Governmental action, as such, is not to be condemned and is not condemned by thinking persons. Rather the thing that is condemned is the use of governmental power to reward the politically faithful and to punish those who exercise intelligent discrimination which differs from the views of those in political power. It is these latter things which tend to discredit governmental activity.
5. The adoption of laborsaving equipment, such as is the case in the mechanization of agriculture, results in greater economic specialization. In turn, greater specialization in economic activity requires extension of markets. This involves both domestic and foreign markets.
6. Labor-saving equipment frees labor for other uses. The problem of extending markets includes the finding of constructive and profitable employment for the labor that is displaced. This is the problem of distributing the use of our available resources in constructive ways.
7. Associated with the saving of labor and a result of it is greater leisure time. The American people need to learn more of constructive use of leisure time.

Each of the preceding points could be elaborated upon at much length. However, time does not permit more than an enumeration of them. One further point seems worth mentioning and that is the role of education in aiding in the

solution of these problems. It is commonplace to state that education has played too small a part in the past. Yet it is true and it probably will continue to be true. Enduring improvements will come largely through the processes of education followed by intelligent action based upon the information gained through the educational processes.

The fact that education is so fundamental in attacking these problems is a challenge to rural sociologists and farm economists. The question may be raised as to whether full advantage has been or is being taken of the opportunities before us. Objection may be made on the ground that political issues are involved in many of the points enumerated above. But these issues were not always political issues and even if they are, they can be attacked on a non-political basis. It should be remembered that the sociologist and the economist have an opportunity for expression on these issues long before they become partisan political politics. Have we taken full advantage of this? Or have we been inclined to devote our energies to the more technical aspects of our work and the presentation of our views in little-read books and journals when the roads to the masses were open via the radio, the daily press, and the more popular magazines?

Not until the needed educational processes extend down to the rank and file of our citizenry will we as a people be ready for some of the changes required to adapt to the changed and changing conditions. In carrying these processes to the rank and file, the rural sociologist and the farm economist have a challenge which demands their best efforts. Given their best efforts and aided by the many others concerned in the educational processes, it is the writer's forecast that noteworthy progress will be made toward solving the problems which now seem to overwhelm us as a result of our own progress in devising and utilizing labor-saving equipment.

Kansas State College

W. E. GRIMES

Agricultural Labor Organization in France

*Michel Cépède**

ABSTRACT

Organization of farm labor by legislation is difficult in France because so much of it is done by family workers, and relatively little by hired laborers, foreign or otherwise. The first step in legislative regulation of farm labor was taken in 1936, when G. Monnet, as minister of agriculture, initiated the "French Agricultural New Deal." Today farm laborers have, as a result of legislative regulation, regular holidays with pay. Wage and hour regulations of farm labor have been proposed by the *Chambre des Députés*, but as yet the Senate has not approved them. There is also collective-labor-agreement legislation governing the limitation of working hours and the fixing of wages, which are not applicable to agricultural labor, but a bill recently passed called "the Modern Statute of Labor" gives promise of a future bill to apply to farm labor.

There are, however, numerous collective farm labor agreements, not under governmental control, which work excellently in fixing a satisfactory wage scale and system of working hours. Obviously, to get the greatest good out of these on a large scale, they must be organized and regulated by government legislation, and it is toward this that French agriculturists turn for "the peaceful road to social progress, which is the only way out."

While farm labor problems are of greatest importance in France today, little has been done toward organization of farm labor through legislation, because of existing conditions.

In 1929 on 3,966,430 farms managed by approximately 3,656,000 farmers (owners and tenants), 3,065,816 farms used only family work, outside workers being employed only occasionally, and then for but a few days at a time.

French agricultural workers may be classified in the following manner:

Type of Work	Total	Family Workers	Wage Paid French Workers	Wage Paid Foreign Workers
Agriculture.....	7,098,888	5,139,093	1,723,752	227,043
Full-time.....	6,098,512	5,015,364	959,335	123,813
Part-time.....	991,376	123,729	764,417	103,230
Horticulture.....	96,943	38,363	47,624	10,956
Full-time.....	65,676	34,026	26,627	5,023
Part-time.....	31,267	4,337	20,997	5,933
Forestry.....	90,012			
Full-time.....	50,377			
Part-time.....	39,635			

* Michel Cépède is Assistant Professor of Rural Economics in the Institut National Agronomique of France (Paris).

Grouped according to sex, they may be classified also in the following manner:

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Full-time Workers</i>			<i>Part-time Workers</i>		
	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Total.....	6,214,565	2,677,889	3,536,676	1,062,278	662,597	399,681
Agriculture.....	6,098,512	2,593,108	3,505,404	991,376	607,254	384,122
Horticulture.....	65,676	40,235	25,441	31,267	18,826	12,441
Forestry.....	50,377	44,546	5,831	39,635	36,517	3,118

And according to age, in the following manner:

<i>Type of Work</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Under 15</i>	<i>15-60</i>	<i>60 and Over</i>
Total.....	6,098,512	431,246	5,158,337	508,929
Male.....	2,593,108	234,615	2,115,166	243,827
Female.....	3,505,404	196,631	3,043,171	265,602

The importance of family work and the relative importance of foreign workers make legislative regulation difficult. Governments and parliament have made much of such difficulties in order to postpone the needed regulation. Almost nothing had been done in agricultural labor organization until 1936, when Mr. G. Monnet took charge of the Ministère de l'Agriculture and initiated a new social policy in agriculture, a policy he chose to call the "French Agricultural New Deal." Nevertheless difficulties prevented his making more than a few legislative agricultural labor regulations, all done in the first three months of the legislature.

The present status is this: Legislative regulation has been achieved on paid holidays, and only on that question. Proposals have been voted by the Chambre des Députés on control of hours and regulation of wages through collective agreements, but the Senate has not passed them.

These ideas are already applied in numerous collective agreements, but such agreements are not, as in industry and trade, the results of a legal labor statute, but only the peace treaties of social war, done after strike, or in dread of strike.

There is no need to emphasize the great difference between the spirit of these two ways of organizing labor agreements.

We shall review now the regulations as they exist at the present time, dividing the study into two parts; (1) *legislative regulation*, i.e., holidays with pay only; and (2) *collective agreements* in which we shall find machinery for (a) limitation of hours, and (b) fixing of wages.

Legislative Regulation; holidays with pay. Legislative proposals on this question were made in France during the 1924-28 and the 1928-32 legislatures. The Chambre des Députés voted nearly unanimously the bill of July 2, 1931, but the Senate refused to adopt it, giving as a reason the agricultural crisis.

On November 22, 1935, the Labor Superior Council passed a resolution favoring a six-day holiday with pay for a year of work. But nothing had been done when the new *Front Populaire Chamber* began in June, 1936. The Chamber by unanimity of 592 voting adopted a 15-day holiday with pay for a year of work; the Senate adopted the plan nearly unanimously and so the law was voted on June 20, 1936.

The law did not take effect until the first of October, 1936, as a suspensive condition in Article II needed for the application in agricultural labor a *Règlement d'Administration Publique*, i.e., a *Decret* taken in the Conseil d'Etat (supreme court of administrative justice), after consultation of the agricultural chambers, the mixed syndicates, and the agricultural workers' syndicates.

This *règlement* was made on September 26, 1936, so the legislation was generally applied to agriculture in 1937 only. Organizations were designed in order to let the agricultural workers, as well as urban workers, take short trips away from home.

Although the Paris Exposition was a great attraction for rural workers, most of them did not go very far from their birthplaces, except for military service, we can safely say that the results were negligible on the point of recreational and cultural aims for rural workers. The thing was so new for them that it was necessary to create the need of recreational and cultural leisure in French rural population. But the goal will be reached soon, as it is a useful progress and welfare goal to be reached.

Collective Agreements. The new collective-labor-agreement legislation is not applicable to agricultural work, although French legislation forecasted such agreements in the bills of March 25 and June 25, 1919 (Chapter IV *bis* of *Liber I*, Title II of the Labor Code). But these laws do not obligate the employer to accept the discussion of a collective labor agreement. Agreements can not be imposed upon the employer

or employee who does not sign them. As stated above, the few collective agreements signed under such legislation were social peace treaties and not social organization.

The question is quite different with the new bills on collective labor agreements and, although the new regulations are not yet applicable to agricultural labor, we must mention them for two reasons: first, they are a great step in increasing the use of collective agreements, even in agriculture; and second, the parliament, committing juristic heresy, recently put in a bill called "the Modern Statute of Labor" which gives promise of a future bill to apply such legislation to agricultural labor.

The first law of June 24, 1936, was intended to introduce in France the widespread use of collective labor agreements, whereas prior to this time it had been the exception rather than the rule. The new legislation gives a place of foremost importance to the great professional unions, which are really in charge of drafting the labor code of the professions.

The machinery works in the following manner: Any trade union of employers or employees may demand the call of a mixed committee for the purpose of concluding a new collective agreement, and the Department of Labor is bound to call such a meeting without delay. The committee is to be composed of delegates of employers' and employees' unions selected from the most representative in the branch of the region involved. This formula has been taken from Section 389 of Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles.

During the discussion of the bill in parliament, President Leon Blum emphasized very clearly the character of the organization: "We don't want to stand on the same ground as the Fascist regimes, we are not trying to create organization of the profession by the will and under the control of the executive but we are trying to begin to organize . . ." If no agreement is reached by the committee, the Minister of Labor, upon the request of one of the parties, must intervene in an effort to solve the difficulty, after having taken the advice of the National Economic Council.

It must be borne in mind that the minister is not an arbitrator; he is not invested with the power to judge, he is only a mediator who tries to bring the parties together, who suggests solutions but has no power to enforce them. Therefore the professional organization is not imposed by the State but by the members of the professions themselves; it is not totalitarian as in Italy and Germany, but contractual.

The labor agreement must contain clauses relating to:

1. Freedom of opinion and freedom of association of workers.
2. Institution of employees' delegates: The delegate is not the representative of the group of employees, he is merely the intermediary entrusted with the task of reporting and defending the individual claims of his co-workers, but not the collective claims of the group. Delegates are elected by secret ballot.
3. Minimum salary.
4. Paid holidays.
5. Organization of apprenticeship.
6. Procedure in case of disputes.
7. Procedure for revision and modification of agreement.

The minister may make a labor agreement compulsory for all employers and employees of the profession in the region comprised in the scope of application of the agreement. Before making such an order, the minister must publish a notice in the *Journal Officiel* concerning the contemplated extension and inviting all professional organizations and all interested parties to make their views or objections known to him. He is also obligated to ask the advice of the National Economic Council.

In industry and trade between June 24, 1935, and July 15, 1937, 4,495 agreements were registered at the Department of Labor, i.e., during one year more than twice as many as in fourteen previous years (2,235 were made between 1919 and 1933). The possibility of obligatory extension has certainly been the the main reason for the success of the collective labor agreements.

In agriculture important social movements occurred during the harvesting period of the summer of 1936; the mediation of the Minister of Agriculture was often claimed and always furnished by Mr. Monnet, either personally or by means of high officials of the Department of Agriculture.

Such agreements are possible only where organizations of employers and employees are strong enough to discuss and apply such regulation. Nevertheless a great number of agreements were made in the regions of the big estates which require many workers, i.e., in the sugar beet and wheat farms in northern France and the region about Paris, in the vineyards of southern France, and in the horticultural regions all over the country. In those agreements the conditions were very different, allow-

ing for the great differences in local conditions. But the most important questions were solved as follows:

Limitation of Hours and Weekly Rest: As it was stated above, no legislation exists in France on such questions as these. We must, however, say that the Chambre des Députés voted unanimously on May 7, 1937, a proposal of Mr. André Parsal, Deputy, Secretary of the Agricultural Workers' Federation, which contains the following points:

A maximum of 300 work days a year, divided in any of the following ways:

8 hours a day, or 48 hours for 5 working days in a week;

3 months with 7 hours a day, or 42 hours for 6 working days a week;

6 months with 8 hours a day, or 48 hours for 6 working days a week; or

3 months with 10 hours a day, or 54 hours for 6 working days a week.

For big jobs such as harvesting perishable crops, 10 hours a day and 60 hours a week during less than one month a year.

In case of exceptions, surplus hours shall be paid at 33 per cent more than normal hours.

For weekly rest, possibility of exception once a month for those engaged in caring for livestock.

The Senate has not voted this bill as yet. In the collective agreements already signed, the limitation of working time is between 2,845 and 2,850 hours a year (judged to be normal by Mr. Queuille, actual Minister of Agriculture, in his report to the First Session of Permanent Agricultural Committee of the International Labor office in Geneva, February 7-15, 1938) and 2,400 hours as in the collective agreement of July 31, 1937, between agricultural employers and employees of the region of Arles sur Rhône (mediation of Mr. A. Chavart, General Inspector of Agriculture).

Repartitions of working hours are in four agreements as follows:

1. Collective agreement of 1935 signed in the Prefecture of the North Department and considered typical by Mr. Queuille in his report of the Permanent Agricultural Committee:

2,845-2,850 hours a year:

July 1-October 15, 10 hours a day

October 16-November 15, 9 hours a day

November 16-January 31, 8 hours a day

2. Collective agreement of Arles sur Rhône, mentioned above:

2,400 hours a year, 8 hours a day; possibility of 9 hours a day during summer time in four periods with compensation by 7-hour days during November and December.

3. Collective agreement of Verneuil, Oise, June 26, 1937.

January, February	7 hours
March, April	8 hours
May, June	9 hours
July, August	10 hours
September	9 hours
October, November	8 hours
December	7 hours

Total2,500 hours

4. Collective agreement of Avesnes le Sec, Nord, June 1, 1937.

January, February	8 hours
March, April, May, June	9 hours
July, August, September	10 hours
October, November	9 hours
December	8 hours

Total2,700 hours

For the weekly rest the above collective agreements provided that the employee was to have a weekly rest of one day, normally on Sunday. If he worked on Sunday he was to have another rest in the week or in the month. Horsemen with a *prime* could care for livestock, and where there are several on the same farm, they could take turns taking their rest on Sunday. Shepherds, cattlemen, and farm maids were to take the weekly rest in accordance with the requirements of their work and local agreements.

Minimum Wages: Here also there are only collective agreements; nevertheless we must say that periodically the *Préfet* in each *département* fixes the salaries which will be the basis of the indemnities in case of accidents caused by labor.

Such fixation has an important influence on wages. Such wages vary greatly according to the task and the locality. In 1929, before the great depression of salaries, they were:

Ordinary horsedriver:	maximum:	7,500 francs a year (Vienne)
	minimum:	2,500 francs a year (Gers)
	average:	4,450 francs a year
<i>Prime</i> horsedriver	maximum:	8,000 francs a year (Bases Alpes)
	minimum:	3,900 francs a year (Ille et Vilaine)
	average:	5,000 francs a year

Ox driver	maximum:	6,600 francs a year	(Seine Inférieure)
	minimum:	2,100 francs a year	(Ille et Vilaine)
	average:	4,200 francs a year	
Cattleman	maximum:	6,930 francs a year	(Meuse)
	minimum:	1,200 francs a year	(Landes)
	average:	4,000 francs a year	
Shepherd	maximum:	8,000 francs a year	(Aveyron)
	minimum:	1,000 francs a year	(Saône et Loire)
	average:	3,800 francs a year	
Farm maid	maximum:	4,500 francs a year	(Seine Inférieure)
	minimum:	1,200 francs a year	(Landes et Bôches du Rhône)
	average:	2,600 francs a year	
Man servant	maximum:	6,500 francs a year	(Allier)
	minimum:	2,000 francs a year	(Landes)
	average:	3,700 francs a year	

In 1936 reductions were made before the agreements mentioned above. In these agreements wages were fixed at 21-22 francs a day in polycultural regions, and 35-36 francs a day in horticultural regions.

The following points are to be found in the collective agreements of the northern regions made in 1936 as cited by Mr. Queuille:

Women's wages are two-thirds of men's wages.

Boys' (16-17) wages are two-thirds of men's wages.

A horsedriver gets 2 francs a day more than an unskilled laborer.

Harvest wages must be paid at the rate of 33 per cent more than ordinary wages for all supplementary hours of work, or they may be paid as double day wages, or at a special rate of 40 francs for a maximum of 12 hours' work a day.

Very often harvest is paid *à la tâche* and during the harvesting period horse-drivers receive a surplus wage of 200 to 300 francs for the season.

In some regions an attempt was made to let wages vary with the price of agricultural crops, and especially with the price of wheat: 1 franc for 10 francs variation was the usual scale (Senlis, Lizy sur Ourcq), but such attempts were not successful. The market conditions of labor seem to be rather independent of the market price of crops.

The "Agricultural Workers' Federation" of the Confédération Générale du Travail April 24, 1938, fixed minimum wages at 15 per cent more than they were in 1937, as the price of wheat rose more than 28 per cent in 1937-38 from the 1936-37 level.

On such a basis wages for the departments near Paris (Seine et Oise,

Seine et Marne, Oise—the greater the proximity to Paris, the higher the rate) would be for 1938:

Daily paid unskilled laborer: 32 francs a day.

Horsedriver or ox driver: 35 francs a day.

Women: 23 francs a day.

Sugar beets, blocking and thinning (including both works): 450-550 francs hectare.

Sugar beets, picking (including loading on trucks): 580-680 francs hectare.

In 1937 in the vineyard region (Arles sur Rhône, above-mentioned agreement) such wages were:

Daily paid unskilled laborers (male): 4.50 francs an hour and 2 litres of wine a day.

Daily paid unskilled laborers (female): 2.65 francs an hour and 1 litre of wine a day.

Monthly paid man living with family in farm dwelling with garden, wood furnished by employer, but not bedding: 870 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid entirely in money: 920 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid couple fed and furnished with farm dwelling, garden, wood, husband and wife fully employed: 720 francs a month and 3 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid single worker provided with board and lodging in farm dwelling: 430 francs a month and 2 litres of wine a day.

During the *vendanges* the special rates are as follows:

Men carriers: 45 francs and 3 litres of wine a day.

Cutters and women: 28 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Horsedriviers: 45 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Men in the cave: 45 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Men taking the grapes' *rafles* out of the tanks: 55 francs and 2 litres of wine a day.

Monthly paid males: 10 francs a day (supplementary wages).

Monthly paid females: 5 francs a day.

When picking is paid *à la tâche*, the rate depends on the variety of plant and is as follows:

3.50 francs the 100 kilogrammes for Aramon.

4 francs the 100 kilogrammes for those varieties requiring a knife for cutting the grapes.

Conclusions. Such examples show that since 1936 much has been done to control the hours of work and fix the wages of laborers in France, but we should not overlook the fact that, lacking an obligatory statute, there are in some parts of France laborers who are not paid at the syndicates' rate and have not regular working hours.

It is quite impossible without legislative acts and a complete national obligatory labor statute to improve the working conditions of family workers who comprise five-sixths of all full-time workers. It is also impossible without a regulation of employment and unemployment to obtain collective agreement in regions in which syndical organization is not strong enough, or in which foreign workers (13.5 per cent of all full-time wage-paid laborers) do not join the labor unions, or cannot join them because the employers' position is too strong regarding workers unable to make the necessary relations with other workers. The workers' force in the social battle comes only by association; differences of language make association difficult and weaken the position of the workers.

If we desire to organize agricultural labor without social conflict we must consider that the way of collective agreements, as good as it is, is possible only if such agreements be organized and looked at—as they begin to be in French industry and French trade, but are not yet in French agriculture—by “the man speaking with soft voice, handling a big stick.”

French agriculture attempted such organization, but foreign affairs have stopped her social improvement. Internal difficulties—some of which may need constitutional amendment, for example, if the Senate continues to reject social legislation—cannot be actually envisaged without fear that an absence, as short as it will be, of France in foreign affairs should be used by the enemies of peace. Social progress actually waits, knowing that war will signify a definite cessation of every improvement in a social way for many years. Agriculture fears war more than any other part of the nation, and has good reasons to fear. But the path is found, and French agriculture as soon as possible will take the peaceful road to social progress, which is the only way out.

Profile of Farm Wage Rates in the Southwest

E. D. Tetreau*

ABSTRACT

Farm wage rates per day without board, January 1, 1938, were 3.75 times as great in California as in South Carolina. Wage rates per month without board were 4.17 times as great. The bold western peak was attained by series of rises. Both daily and monthly wages changed gradually from South Carolina across the Old South with additional gradual increases across the Western Cotton Region. Abrupt increases were registered across New Mexico, through Arizona, and into California. Factors associated with these changes were: increases westward in ability to pay high wages; decreases westward in the competition of the family unpaid labor; competitive wage rates in the oil and metal mining industries; differences in the efficiency of workers; and elevation westward of rural standards of living. Additional factors in Arizona were the proportions of Mexicans among farm laborers and competitive urban and rural wage rates on public works projects.

Wage rates in Arizona's irrigated areas increase westward. This was indirectly discovered in a study of farm labor requirements and costs made in 1936 for the year 1935. In that study it was found that *man day costs* of farm labor in the Upper Gila, Salt River, and Yuma-Gila valleys increased westward, the averages for all hired labor on farms being \$1.29, \$1.65, and \$1.87 per man's day.¹ A check of wage rates showed that they increased westward, rates per month, rates per day, and rates per hundred pounds in picking cotton.

Analysis of the factors underlying this difference in farm wages in Arizona brought attention to the startling profile of farm wage rates across southern United States. It was hard to believe that wage rates in one major industry would be increased as much as four times in traveling across the country, east or west, north or south. But with farm wage rates in South Carolina the lowest in the United States and in California the highest, it was found that on January 1, 1938, farm wages per month without board were, in California, 4.17 times as high as corresponding wage rates in South Carolina (Table 1).

* Professor of Rural Sociology, University of Arizona.

¹ Arizona AESB 160 (Tucson, May, 1938), p. 202.

TABLE 1
FARM WAGE RATES IN SELECTED STATES*

STATE	Wages Without Board					
	January 1, 1936		January 1, 1937		January 1, 1938	
	Per Month	Per Day	Per Month	Per Day	Per Month	Per Day
South Carolina....	\$16.00	\$.70	\$17.50	\$.80	\$17.50	\$.80
Georgia.....	15.75	.80	17.00	.85	17.75	.85
Alabama.....	17.50	.85	18.25	.90	18.75	.90
Mississippi.....	17.50	.85	19.75	.95	20.25	.95
Louisiana.....	19.75	.90	20.50	1.00	21.75	1.05
Arkansas.....	20.00	.90	22.50	1.00	23.50	1.05
Oklahoma.....	26.75	1.20	27.75	1.30	29.00	1.35
Texas.....	26.75	1.15	28.50	1.25	30.50	1.35
New Mexico.....	33.75	1.50	37.75	1.55	38.25	1.65
Arizona.....	50.00	1.80	53.25	1.90	54.75	2.10
California.....	60.00	2.50	65.00	2.70	73.00	3.00

USDA BAE mimeographed releases on farm wage rates.

A number of questions arose. Did wage rates increase uniformly from state to state, westward, or were the changes greater in some states than in others? How did wage rates in Arizona fit into the picture? Did day wages from state to state change as much as monthly wages? How did the profiles of day and monthly wages compare?

First it was found that changes in daily wage rates from South Carolina westward through the Old South were small. Increases of from 2 to 10 per cent per state brought wages in Louisiana and Arkansas to \$1.05 per day as compared with \$.80 in South Carolina. This increase of 25 cents per day was 31 per cent above the day wage in South Carolina. The wage rates per day from Arkansas through Oklahoma to Texas increased from \$1.05 to \$1.35, or 29 per cent. This brought one through the entire South, the Old South proper, and the Western Cotton Region (Table 1).

From Texas to New Mexico daily wage rates increased from \$1.35 to \$1.65, or 22 per cent, while from New Mexico to Arizona they mounted from \$1.65 to \$2.10, or 27 per cent. Finally a boost of 43 per cent over Arizona rates brought the daily wage for California farm laborers to \$3.00.

Wage rates per month without board showed a somewhat different profile. From South Carolina through the Old South to Arkansas monthly rates increased 34 per cent as compared with a 31 per cent increase in day wage rates. From Arkansas through Oklahoma to Texas

monthly rates increased 30 per cent as compared with an increase of 29 per cent in day wage rates. Additional increases of 25 per cent in New Mexico over Texas monthly wage rates and of 43 per cent in Arizona over New Mexico brought monthly wage rates to \$54.75. These monthly wage rate increases were considerably greater than the 22 and 27 per cent increases in wage rates per day in the same states. Finally a 33 per cent increase in monthly wage rates over Arizona's rates brought the sum to \$73.00 per month paid to farm workers in California. This last increase in monthly wage rates was not so great as the 43 per cent increase in daily wage rates in California over Arizona.

When South Carolina and California farm wage rates were compared directly it was found that California's day rate of wages was 3.75 times South Carolina's, and California's monthly rate was 4.17 times as great. This direct comparison roughly indicated the general outline of the profile of farm wage rates across southern United States.

The bold western peak of farm wage rates was attained by a series of rises in elevation, selected readings of which were calculated by finding the percentage of the difference between South Carolina and California wage rates as registered in Arkansas, Texas, and Arizona. Both daily and monthly wages changed gradually from South Carolina through the Old South and across the Western Cotton Region. From South Carolina

TABLE 2
PROFILE READINGS OF FARM WAGE RATES IN SELECTED STATES

STATES	Daily Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference	Monthly Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference
California.....	\$3.00	\$2.20	100.0	\$73.00	\$55.50	100.0
Arizona.....	2.10	1.30	59.0	54.75	37.25	67.0
Texas.....	1.35	.55	25.0	30.50	13.00	23.0
Arkansas.....	1.05	.25	11.0	23.50	6.00	11.0
South Carolina....	.80	.00	0.0	17.50	.00	0.0

through Texas only 25 per cent of the total daily wage differential was attained, and only 23 per cent of the monthly wage differential. Abrupt increases of 34 per cent of the daily wage differential and 44 per cent of the monthly wage differential were registered from Texas through Arizona, bringing the readings to 59 and 67, respectively. Further sharp increases of 41 and 33 points lifted daily and monthly wages to the California levels. Thus the eastern or right hand part of the profile showed

relatively gentle slopes upward while the western inclines were steep (Table 2).

Had the base line of these profiles represented numbers of persons on farms working for wages instead of linear distances, the slopes across the Old South and the Western Cotton Region would have been levelled down, since their portions of the base line would have been greatly lengthened. Correspondingly, the slopes across New Mexico, Arizona, and California would have been tilted more sharply.²

Turning to a comparison of wage rates in Arkansas and the states westward through Arizona to California, it was found that daily wage rates in California were 2.86 times as great as daily wages in Arkansas, and monthly wage rates were 3.11 times as great as in Arkansas. The slope of the profile of day wage rates, shown by the percentage of the difference between wage rates in Arkansas and California as registered in Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona, was gentle across Oklahoma and Texas, steeper as it moved into New Mexico, still steeper into Arizona, and steepest as it terminated in California. The slope of the profile of monthly wage rates was similar excepting that it rose more sharply from New Mexico into Arizona and continued somewhat more moderately into California (Table 3).

TABLE 3
PROFILE READINGS OF FARM WAGE RATES FROM ARKANSAS TO CALIFORNIA

STATES	Daily Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference	Monthly Wage Rates	Difference	Per cent of Difference
California.....	\$3.00	\$1.95	100.0	\$73.00	\$49.50	100.0
Arizona.....	2.10	1.05	54.0	54.75	31.25	63.0
New Mexico.....	1.65	.60	31.0	38.25	14.75	30.0
Texas.....	1.35	.30	15.0	30.50	7.00	14.0
Oklahoma.....	1.35	.30	15.0	29.00	5.50	11.0
Arkansas.....	1.05	.00	0.0	23.50	.00	.0

Again, had the base line of these profiles represented numbers of hired farm laborers, the slopes across Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas would have been levelled down because of the great numbers of laborers in these states and the consequent lengthening of the base line; while the slopes across New Mexico, Arizona, and California would have been lifted to a sharper angle.

² *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935, Statistics by States and Counties, Second Series.*

One might profitably devote much time to a study of the influences of the slave, contract labor, and cropper systems of the Old South, upon the wage levels of today throughout the Cotton Belt.³ One might also consider the Mexican's way of working and living and the part he plays in setting the wage levels of farm workers in the Southwest. Or attention might be turned to the days of vast exploitation and wages unheard of in the gold and silver mines of California and Nevada and the forests and mills of Oregon and Washington.

Instead, it is more in line with the purposes of this paper to name briefly a few more immediate factors that appear to be closely associated with wage levels across the southern United States and especially in the Southwest and in California.

First, there is a marked increase westward of ability to pay. This is indicated by the sharp increase in gross income per farm unit, westward from the Old South to California. Average farm incomes, 1920-30, were from \$605 to \$850 in the states from South Carolina through Arkansas; in Oklahoma they averaged \$1,330; in Texas, \$1,595; in New Mexico, \$1,369; in Arizona, \$3,519; and in California, \$4,236.⁴

Second, the competition of family labor on farms decreases westward. The cropper system, founded on the family labor of Negroes and poor whites, decreases westward across the Western Cotton Region and disappears in western Texas. Percentages of family labor as compared with hired labor employed on farms decrease westward through the Southwest.

Third, the competitive wage rates of the oil and metal mining industries tend to influence farm wage rates from Oklahoma into California. They draw farm workers to their camps and towns and, largely because of the nature of their employments, pay them high wage rates.

A fourth factor is to be found in the comparative efficiency of farm workers. The tendency westward is for workers to demand higher wages of farm operators and for operators to pay more and then see to it that the workers earn more. One of the reasons so many workers in the west move about from place to place is their inability to meet the requirements determined by higher wage scales.

Standard of living indices such as percentage of farm houses with electricity, telephone, radio, automobile, and water piped to dwelling, point the direction of a fifth major factor influencing farm wage rates

³ Rupert B. Vance, *Human Factors in Cotton Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1929).

⁴ J. H. Kolb and E. deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 313.

across southern United States.⁵ These indices show a low material standard of living on farms in the Old South, but a generally increasing standard westward as one crosses southern United States. While this factor, from one point of view, might be considered as a general concomitant of farm income, or ability to pay, from another point of view it rates as a separate factor. Standard of living is here assumed to be rooted in personal initiative, family traditions, and community or regional standards of material comfort and welfare. Correspondingly, income finds its origins in personal initiative, family tradition, and community or regional resources for production and marketing. In a basic sense the income of the farm operator is fixed by his standard of living. He will shift his crops, add or subtract land, move to another region, all in order to bring income up to certain levels, depending upon his standard of living. So, the farm worker's wages tend to be set by his standard of living. But recognition of the worker's idea of a desirable standard of living is least likely to take place where operators' standards are low, and most likely to come about where operators' standards are high. While other considerations doubtless play a part in the process whereby high standards of living among operators tend to support workers' standards and hence to increase workers' wages, efficiency holds an exceedingly important place in the picture. The worker who is efficient (largely because he insists on high wages to maintain his ideas of a desirable standard of living) is indispensable to the efficient entrepreneur who must make a better than average income in order to realize his standard of living. He is indispensable because only on his level of experience and skill and at his pace or speed will the production schedules of the entrepreneur be attained.

Returning to the differential in wage rates in irrigated areas across southern Arizona, what were some of the factors associated with the increase in wages westward? One important local factor was custom. Mexican laborers customarily receive less pay than non-Mexican whites for doing the same grade of work. Percentages of Mexicans among farm laborers who were heads of households in the Upper Gila, Salt River, and Yuma-Gila valleys were 87, 50, and 34, respectively.⁶

Another local factor associated with the increase in farm wage rates across Arizona westward, was the decreasing competition of family

⁵ Carl C. Taylor, Helen W. Wheeler, and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, USDA SRR 8 (Washington, April, 1938), p. 114.

⁶ Unpublished data, Arizona AES.

workers as opposed to hired workers on farms. Hired laborers working on farms numbered only 217 per 1,000 workers in the Upper Gila, as compared with 658 in the Salt River and 739 per 1,000 in the Yuma-Gila Valley (January, 1935).⁷

Wage rates on Public Works projects were locally important in the determination of wage levels. While in general agreement with local organized labor standards, rates set for rural areas prevailed in the Upper Gila Valley, while urban rates were paid in the Salt River and Yuma-Gila valleys. Proximity to the Parker Dam and the All-American Canal projects afforded an advantage to resident laborers in the Yuma-Gila Valley.

A fourth factor was the slope of the profile of farm wage rates in the Southwest as it cut across Southern Arizona. The elevations of farm wage rates in Texas, New Mexico, and California without question bore a very real relationship to the elevation, slope and shape of the curve of wage rates across Arizona.

⁷ *United States Census of Agriculture: 1935*, Statistics by States and Counties, Second Series.

Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges

*A. F. Wileden**

ABSTRACT

Rural Sociology Extension in the Agricultural Colleges had its beginnings even before the passing of the Smith-Lever Law. With one interruption, its history from the beginning has been one of steady expansion. The rather promotional type of emphasis of the earlier days, however, is being replaced with a concern for the "program approach." Furthermore, this extension program today is giving more concern to increasing numbers of fields of "group work."

Rural Sociology Extension has been struggling, amidst many specialized programs in the agricultural colleges, to find its field. For this reason several national conferences have been called, giving attention to objectives, content, evaluation, and the measuring of results. Efforts in thus clarifying and developing of the field are now being identified with those of the Rural Sociological Society.

Rural Sociology Extension¹ is still one of the smaller, although not one of the younger members of the Agricultural Extension Service in the United States. It started even before the passage of the Smith-Lever Law, but developed very slowly following the passage of this act of Congress in 1914.² In those early years three states entered the field, Wisconsin under the leadership of C. J. Galpin, Massachusetts under the leadership of E. L. Morgan, and Kansas under the leadership of Walter Burr. Two of these programs were disrupted in 1919 and the other in 1920, all by the moving of the personnel to other states or other positions. In the meantime, one other agricultural college had undertaken a project in this field. This was Ohio, where the program was

* Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, College of Agriculture, University of Wisconsin.

¹ No attempt is herein made to define this field other than in terms of the projects, activities, or practices reported by the various states. Such attempt was made in 1930 through the national adoption of a statement of objectives, a copy of which is attached.

² This information was gathered by correspondence with the agricultural extension directors in all of the forty-eight states, and supplementary correspondence with the rural sociologists, and particularly the extension rural sociologists, in all of the states having or having had extension programs in rural sociology from the agricultural colleges. Additional information was gathered from records, reports, and conferences.

disrupted in 1921. All four of these states contributed greatly to the field. Among these contributions came the recognition that it was going to be necessary to develop such a program slowly. Also it was discovered that it was first important to lay the foundation for an extension program through a study and research approach.

THE PROGRAM IN THE BEGINNING—BEFORE 1920

An enumeration of the methods and content of the rural sociology extension program in the agricultural colleges in the days before 1920 reveals what we today must recognize as a very logical beginning. It included about four things: the organization of clubs and groups of different sorts, conferences with organization leaders, social surveys of one kind or another, and lectures, particularly on rural life topics, before rural groups and organizations. These took somewhat different forms in different states, but underneath them all was a remarkable similarity—an attempt to expand and enrich rural group life.

Organization of Groups. Groups that were started were of two kinds, local clubs and co-ordinating groups. They took different professional names and forms in different states. In Wisconsin they were called farmers' clubs, social centers, and county federations. In Kansas they were called farm bureaus, and in Massachusetts they were community councils. Some of these organizations are still alive at the time of writing.

Conferences with Leaders. The conferences were usually meetings of organization leaders to consider plans for their organizations, their county, or their state. These conferences were frequently called country-life conferences, community country life conferences, county country life conferences, and state country life conferences.³ It was not until a later date, undoubtedly partly out of the impetus of these earlier country life conferences, that the first national country life conference came into being (1919).

Social Surveys. It is significant that almost from the beginning the making of surveys of one kind or another has been a part of the recognized rural sociology extension program. Back of these surveys seemed to lie the twofold purpose of getting better acquainted with the community, and also of getting the community better acquainted with itself. They largely took the form of school district surveys and of community

³ Such state country life conferences were held in Wisconsin in 1911, 1912, 1913, and 1914, printed reports of the proceedings of each being available now.

surveys, and the method of making the surveys through group meetings and through questionnaires was a significant part of their contribution. Many local people participated both in gathering and in supplying the desired information. Numerous interesting sessions were held in interpreting the findings of these surveys.

Lectures and Programs. In the beginning stages, very little was done in developing what we today think of as "programs of work" for rural organizations. What was done was usually in the form of "lectures" or "talks" at organization meetings. Subjects chosen for these talks were usually in the "rural life" field, many of which were concerned with various phases of "community betterment." Most states which started their rural sociology extension programs at a later date tended to put more emphasis on the program planning and program service aspect from the very beginning. This really marked a new emphasis in rural sociology extension.

AFTER 1920—WHEN A NEW STATE LAUNCHES A PROGRAM

Historically, a second epoch in rural sociology extension work seems to begin with 1920. During the six-year period from 1920 to 1925, each of the first four states to inaugurate such a program (Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Kansas, and Ohio), found its program disrupted. During this same six-year period eight new states, including Nebraska, New York, West Virginia, Iowa, Missouri, Pennsylvania, South Dakota, Louisiana, and Ohio, one of the older states, launched such a program. Texas had started the previous year. In most of these states the beginning program was somewhat different from those starting before 1914.

Importance of Research. A research program in Rural Sociology in the agricultural colleges had been slowly getting under way. It was the growing conviction that a rather thorough understanding of the people of the state and of their problems and some knowledge of the principles of group organization was vital to the success of an extension program in this field. This research program was given special emphasis by the passage of the Purnell Act in 1925.⁴ It was not until 1931, however, that research in the fields of rural population, rural organization, and rural standards of living was generally announced as being

⁴C. J. Galpin, J. H. Kolb, Dwight Sanderson, and Carl C. Taylor, *Rural Sociological Research in the United States*, a Social Science Research Monograph prepared and published under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture of the Social Science Research Council, 1928.

ready for utilization.⁵ These findings pointed to a large rural population residual in the open country and small villages, with their own groups and institutions and with groups and institutions which they share with city folks. These groups and institutions are in need of integration with regard to their common objectives, but also they need to be made more effective within themselves. These findings also point to highly varied standards of living between rural areas as well as between city and country, but the high degree of direct return as a result of their own efforts gives a clue to "improved practices" in this field.

Development of "Program Approach." These research findings helped to direct the extension emphasis upon the activity and program side of rural groups and institutions, and upon the content of rural family living. About the same time came an increased number of rural organizations and agencies of all kinds. These organizations were quick to appraise the value of the program of work to the organization. Furthermore, they were aggressive in their calls to the State Extension Services for help with their programs. These factors have stimulated the development of rural sociology extension programs in a number of states and have tended to accentuate interest in the program service phases. With these forces at work, however, has come the theoretical realization that if people are going to work together in groups, or if groups are going to work with each other, it must be on something in which they have a common interest. Furthermore, different people and different groups in the same area must come to work together on their programs. Extension sociologists have been much concerned with trying to bring this about. Research has not as yet thrown much light upon this latter assumption, or on the best ways to achieve it.

Gradual Expansion into New States. Since 1925 the expansion of the rural sociology extension program into new states has moved slowly. With the exception of 1929 and 1930, one or more additional states have launched such a program each year. These were Mississippi in 1926, Wisconsin in 1927, Illinois and Virginia in 1928, South Dakota in 1931, Kentucky in 1932, Arizona in 1933, New Hampshire in 1934, and Mississippi again in 1935. Two of these states, South Dakota and Wisconsin, were old states once more taking up a program. During the

⁵ C. J. Galpin, C. E. Lively, B. L. Hummel, and C. C. Zimmerman, *Rural Sociological Adult Education in the United States*, a Social Science Research Monograph prepared under the direction of the Advisory Committee on Social and Economic Research in Agriculture, a committee of the Social Science Research Council, 1931.

same period Missouri discontinued its program. In January, 1936, there were sixteen state agricultural extension services with at least one or more part-time workers, assigned to a field that was recognized as Rural Sociology Extension.

A GLIMPSE OF THE PROGRAM TODAY

A comprehensive picture of the rural sociology extension program in its various ramifications over the country as it exists today, would take considerably more space than is available here. Likewise, it should entail considerably careful study. A bird's-eye glimpse of the program must suffice at this time.

The question as to what this rural sociology extension program included was asked of every extension director and extension rural sociologist in the states carrying on such a program. Answers were received from all of them. For purposes of analysis, replies as to what the programs in the various states included were then classified in four groups: studying local groups and situations; work with organizations as such and in the field of organization relationships; work on the content of the program for rural organizations; and emergency work. Of these, emergency work, which might involve taking the extension sociologists away from their regular work, has been a very small part of the program, only three of the states reporting rehabilitation and resettlement, and only two reporting A.A.A. This indicates that the program itself is one which meets depression needs. The following are some rather significant characteristics in the program as it exists today.

Emphasis on "Program Approach." Work on the content of the program for rural groups seems to be an outstanding characteristic of the rural sociology extension programs today. Furthermore, the more popular type of activities stressed are of a group nature in themselves. The most frequent of these is drama (and pageantry), which is a recognized part of the program in twelve of the sixteen states. Next in frequency come social recreation and music, each in ten of the sixteen states. Eight of the sixteen states are directly engaged in providing programs for rural groups through their regularly prepared and distributed program helps and materials. Some of the states prepare and mail one of these programs each month—a program for each regular meeting of the organization. Group discussions as an educational method have also been added in recent years. These discussions are now a recognized part of this rural sociology extension program in seven of the sixteen

states.⁶ Arts and crafts are a part of the program in two states. We can well ponder the question as to how far this emphasis on the "program approach" within rural sociology extension will and should continue.

Organizations and Organizational Relationships. Extension rural sociology is also today greatly concerned with organizations as such and with the field of organization relationships. There are the problems of intra-group relationships arising in the conferences with leaders reported in eleven of the sixteen states. The principles of group organization and leadership are also dealt with in the leadership training schools which are held in about half of the states. However, with the rapid growth of special interest groups in rural as well as in urban areas today, the problem of meeting the needs of "the community" is shifting in no small degree from one of working within groups to one of working together between groups. Rural Sociology extension is much concerned with this. Work with the rural church and with young people's groups; conferences with leaders and leadership training, particularly when different kinds of groups are represented; and various plans for standard communities, community councils, community units, federations, and co-ordinating committees are attempting to bring about a co-operative relationship between groups. Although efforts in this direction are increasing, tangible results are as yet limited and difficult to measure.

The field of intra- and inter-group relationships and effectiveness may, as time passes, become the specialized field of the extension rural sociologist himself, serving either in an administrative but more likely in a consultative capacity. It appears as though his task is becoming one of appraising groups and institutions in terms of their adequacy in meeting the needs of a situation, and in counselling with the leaders and citizens in terms of future plans and needed adjustments.

Study of Local Groups and Situations. It is significant that a rural sociology extension program should continually try to stay close to the situations and needs of the local people. Persistently rural sociologists are the ones in state and national conferences who ask the question, "How will this affect the local people?" From the very early days, studies of local groups and of local situations have been a part of the rural sociology extension program. They have been a means whereby the workers in the field have kept themselves informed of the real needs

⁶ There are a number of states also where the group discussion program has grown up independently of the rural sociology extension program. Almost invariably, however, the rural sociologists are identified with the discussion program in one capacity or another.

of rural people of different local situations. Where carried on co-operatively with the local people, these surveys have also become a very valuable educational technique in acquainting local people with their own situations. Knowing what their conditions are in comparison with what they might be helps a great deal in persuading people to want to better their conditions. Furthermore, it is significant that these local surveys and analyses repeatedly reveal the necessity for the various individuals, groups, and agencies to work together in terms of the needs of the areas of which they are a part. These surveys and analyses are therefore becoming increasingly recognized as a valuable technique for the extension rural sociologist. They were reported from eleven of the sixteen states.

Personnel of Rural Sociology Extension Programs. It is obvious from the preceding discussion that many of the workers in the rural sociology extension program today are not rural sociologists. If the term is to be used in the strictly scientific sense⁷ probably few of them are. Furthermore, many of them do not claim this title, as a glimpse at the personnel list will show. Titles appearing there are community activity specialist, rural life specialist, rural sociologist, rural organization specialist, community organization specialist, specialist in neighborhood activities, rural service specialist, drama specialist, recreation specialist, music specialist, discussion specialist, and youth specialist.

We might well raise the question whether some of these workers and some of the work being done by them should be included as rural sociology extension. The fact is that both administrators and rural people today recognize them as such. Furthermore, these programs are being taken to their respective states through the medium of rural sociology extension. Undoubtedly part of this has come about as a result of the interest of the rural sociologists in people, and because the agricultural colleges were not otherwise staffed and equipped to provide this desired type of instruction. On the other hand, it must be recognized that rural sociology extension has offered a balanced and integrated approach for drama, music, social recreation, group discussion, and the arts and crafts to the state. Whether this integrated approach of these specialists through rural sociology extension will continue, or whether each of these specialized fields will push out and establish approaches or departments of its own, will be determined by the extent of this social and cultural development through the extension service and

⁷ In the sense that science explains but does not evaluate.

the degree of further departmental specialization. There is no indication of this further departmentalization at the present time.

Changes in the Program. It is significant that a number of changes are coming about in this program of rural sociology extension. Some of them, such as the increasing emphasis on the program approach, have already been discussed. It is interesting also to note that the number of activities or phases that are being carried on and recognized as a part of the program are increasing. Some of these are a direct reflection of the increased emphasis in the program approach resulting in expansion of the fields of drama, music, social recreation, and group discussion. Others are expansions in the direction of organizational and institutional relations, including added emphasis in the fields of young people's work and with the rural church. Two of these recent expansions, the one in the young people's work and the other with group discussion, have been entirely new additions in recent years.

It is probably even more significant that while certain new phases are being introduced and others being expanded, certain activities and procedures are decreasing. For example, today there is less time being given to organizing new groups or clubs than previously. As a matter of fact, four states that were one time putting emphasis in that direction reported they had "stopped organizing clubs." Apparently, as a state, they have reached the carrying-on and adjustment stage of their development.⁸ It is significant also that two states report "less emphasis on competition" as a device for encouraging certain practices and procedures over their state. In many situations, this virtually means a changing of the culture pattern for these areas. It comes about slowly. It was interesting to note also that less extension teaching was being done through the means of lectures. Two states reported that they had "dropped lectures" as part of their programs. Others were doing less lecturing than formerly. Undoubtedly increased use of the discussion technique and probably numerous demonstrations have come to take the place of some of the lecturing. We can move still further in this direction.

Probably the most significant change that is coming about is the increasing similarity in the programs over the United States. The language may differ from state to state, just as the organizational and administrative procedures differ from one situation to another. Back of

⁸ J. H. Kolb and A. F. Wileden, *Special Interest Groups in Rural Society*, Wisconsin College of Agriculture RB 84 (Madison, December, 1927).

these, however, is a kindred interest in rural people and a kindred concern with regard to certain objectives. It begins to appear as though the survey technique combined with the organizational approach, both in its *intra* and *inter* aspects is to be the field of rural sociology extension itself, and that the program of work approach as contributed by increasing numbers of group work specialists each in his respective field is to provide material and substance through which sociology extension can function. Thus each contributes to the other in a program primarily concerned with "better living in the country."

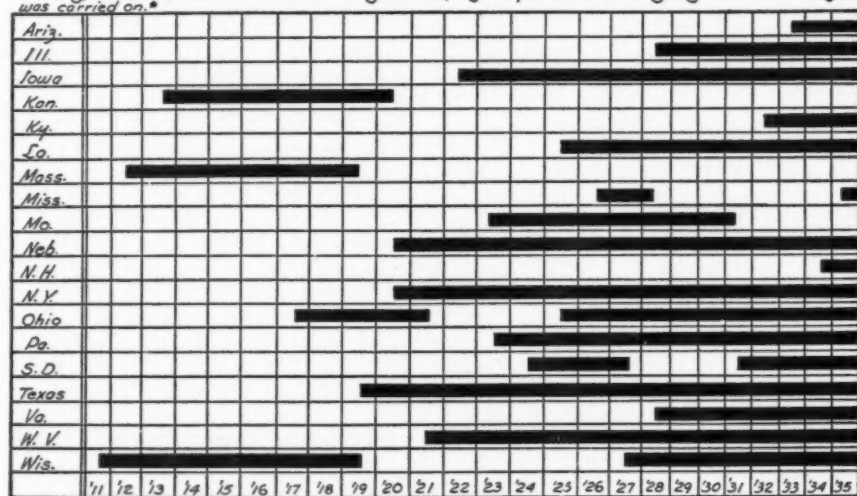
NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS IN RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION

The first national rural sociology extension conference was called at Cleveland, Ohio, December 26-27, 1930, by agreement between the Extension Committee on Organization and Policy of the Land Grant College Association and the Federal Extension Service. Representatives from eleven states and the United States Department of Agriculture at-

FIGURE 1.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION IN THE UNITED STATES 1911-1935.

State Agricultural Extension Services having such a project, plotted according to years such a program was carried on.*



* As indicated by the agricultural extension directors and rural sociologists in the various states

tended. C. B. Smith, in charge of co-operative extension work in the United States Department of Agriculture, emphasized at the outset his hope that this conference would not adjourn "without making a statement (1) as to the definite things in rural sociology that extension

specialists in that field propose to extend, and (2) the methods of procedure to be used." He also suggested that a definite statement of objectives be formulated.

Name and Objectives. This first national conference was conducted by the discussion method, but a few of the papers and a stenographic report of some of the discussion are available. Nothing was definitely decided as to what extension sociologists should extend or how they should go about it, except decisions that took shape in the minds of the participating individuals. A resolution was passed at this meeting urging the securing in the Washington office of a national extension rural sociologist, to study some of the many problems that had been raised at this conference but were left unanswered, and to help the many states in improving their work in the field. Until such a person was selected, a committee of five was appointed to bring together statements from the several states then carrying on programs of rural sociology extension as to their objectives, activities, methods and some results.⁹ Before this conference adjourned, the name "rural sociology extension" was adopted, and a statement of objectives, as here appended, was drawn up.

"Content." The second national rural sociology extension conference, the date for which was set before the first one at Cleveland adjourned, was held in August, 1931, at Oglebay Park, West Virginia. Four central themes were chosen for this conference: recreation and the rural sociology program, research and the extension sociology program, rural organization and the extension sociology program, and the philosophy of rural life. Representatives from thirteen states and the United States Department of Agriculture were in attendance. Much attention was given at this conference to what was "sociological" and contributions in the social and cultural fields were critically reviewed.¹⁰ The important question of the relation of research to extension, came up at this conference. The point was stressed that research should be done concerning problems pressing for research as revealed in the extension field, rather than extension being expected to extend whatever research has been undertaken. It was urged that this point of approach be discussed at

⁹ Under the direction of this committee by May, 1931, such statements were supplied by seven states, and copies of the statements made available; other states prepared such statements later.

¹⁰ The field of rural sociology extension was also critically reviewed by B. L. Hummel in a paper entitled *What is Happening in Rural Sociology Extension*, presented before the Eastern States Extension Conference, February 26, 1931.

later meetings and in the various sociological journals and other publications. A report was given by the committee appointed at the previous conference to bring together from the separate states statements of objectives, activities, methods, and results of rural sociology extension. This committee was authorized to continue its work and gather materials as a basis for a national publication.¹¹

National Organization. A small group of extension sociologists held the next national meeting during a session of the American Sociological Society in Washington, D. C., in December, 1931. At this time a committee was appointed to draw up "a statement of policy or a plan for a permanent organization of the extension workers in this field." The committee recommended a national organization and at a breakfast meeting held during the American Country Life Conference at Oglebay Park, West Virginia, in October, 1932, and attended by rural sociologists from seven states, a plan was adopted for a National Association of Rural Sociology Extension Workers, a constitution was adopted, and officers elected.¹²

The objects of this organization were set forth as:

1. Creation of a better acquaintance and an esprit de corps among those interested in this field.
2. The development of the objectives and methods of rural sociology extension work.
3. Presentation of the results of this work in systematic form so that they may be made useful to the people of the various states.
4. Bringing to the attention of the various agencies for the improvement of agriculture and rural life the point of view of the achievements of rural sociology work.
5. Such other collective efforts as may help to bring about a better organized and more satisfactory rural life.

Only state specialists in rural sociology extension work were admitted to membership.

"Rural Youth." The next national meeting was held in Washington in June, 1934, in conjunction with the National 4-H Club Leaders' Conference. This meeting was called by the Extension Service of the United States Department of Agriculture in co-operation with the National As-

¹¹ This was a task of considerable magnitude, and as workers were not available, very little was accomplished.

¹² B. L. Hummel was president of this National Association of Rural Sociology Extension Workers until November, 1938, when it was merged with the newly formed Rural Sociological Society of America.

sociation of Rural Sociology Extension Workers. Nine states and the United States Department of Agriculture were represented. Much concern was developing over the country with regard to the needs of older rural young people and this conference was called to consider "rural youth." From the point of view of the extension rural sociologists this meeting had two significant aspects. First, this was the first time that a national meeting of rural sociologists was held in conjunction with another specialist group of agricultural extension workers. About half of each day was spent in joint conference, and half in two separate group conferences. From the point of view of the extension rural sociologists, this was a decided advantage over the single meeting, as it gave members an opportunity to get into the field of group relationships on a national scale as well as to talk about them. Second, administrators within the Extension Service were looking for a specialized field in which extension rural sociologists could do their work just as do poultry specialists, 4-H club leaders, and clothing specialists, and it was suggested that this might be the older rural youth field. Although older rural youth was the central theme of both the separate and joint conferences for the entire week, the extension rural sociologists arrived at an agreement that this field was not to be set aside as their specialty. Rather they interpreted their role as being that of group specialists and consultants, and before adjourning they made several specific suggestions in this rural youth field.¹⁸ Other matters considered were with regard to the Federal Emergency Relief Program and the Agricultural Adjustment Program.

Measuring Results. By 1936 the field had expanded to include workers in a number of states, many of whom were new on the job, and extension directors in several additional states were contemplating adding such workers to their staffs. Therefore, it seemed advisable in the spring of 1936 that regional conferences should be called in conjunction with conferences for agricultural extension administrators and a few other groups of specialists. The conference for the eastern states was held in Boston, Massachusetts, in February, and the one for the central states in Lafayette, Indiana, in March. These covered the areas in which there was the greatest immediate interest and development in

¹⁸ A statement with regard to the needs of rural youth and ways of meeting these needs was drawn at this time and submitted to the extension directors of the various states. Some of the papers on this subject presented in the joint conferences with 4-H club leaders are available through the U.S.D.A.

rural sociology extension. Much of the attention at the Boston meeting was given, in the presence of the extension administrators, to an analysis and appraisal of the field.¹⁴ The conference at Lafayette included reports from the separate states on the content of the programs, but the high spot came in an attempt to define the field itself and to appraise its effectiveness.¹⁵ As a result of this conference a national committee was appointed to consider criteria for measuring results of rural sociology extension work.

This committee on criteria has met twice. It is obvious that any appraisal must be made in terms of the value of the objectives of the work and the degree of accomplishment of those objectives. A recognition of this relationship in rural sociology extension immediately led the committee back to a reappraisal of the field and objectives for rural sociology extension. Plans were made for another national conference to make this reappraisal, and to define more clearly the function of rural sociology, particularly in its applied form.

Re-Evaluation of Rural Sociology in the Agricultural Extension Service. The Policy Committee of the Land Grant College Association in July of 1938 gave official approval for a National Conference of Extension Rural Sociologists to be held at Lexington, Kentucky. It was scheduled for October 31, and November 1, 1938, just preceding the National Meeting of the American Country Life Association. In spite of difficulties in arranging a program, forty-two representatives from fourteen states and the United States Department of Agriculture were in attendance. The re-evaluation was concerned with the underlying objectives and with the relationships and methods used in carrying on the programs as a part of the Agricultural Extension Service. The high point of the conference was reached in a reappraisal of the field and objectives. Such statements were advanced as, "the needs of the people are our concern"; "our general objective is making rural family living effective"; "our problem is to elevate the level of living of rural people"; and, our job is "to develop rural leaders." Because of the size of the group, and because many of those present had not attended previous national conferences of this group, it was difficult to arrive at a con-

¹⁴ These papers are available: one by T. B. Manny on *What Should be the Objectives in Extension Rural Sociology*; one by Bruce L. Melvin, *An Appraisal of Extension Work in Rural Sociology*; and one by C. B. Smith, *An Appraisal of the Program in Recreation*.

¹⁵ As this conference was conducted almost entirely on the informal discussion basis, no adequate record is available other than a statement of the content of their programs submitted by the several states.

sensus. Before the conference adjourned, a committee was authorized "to prepare a well considered statement concerning the field and objectives of extension work in Rural Sociology." A joint session with the Kentucky land use planning people again interestingly demonstrated the essential interrelationship of rural sociology with other programs.

Merge with the Rural Sociological Society of America. Before this conference adjourned, a re-evaluation of the functions of the earlier organized National Association of Rural Sociological Extension Workers was called for and its relation to the Extension Committee of the new Rural Sociological Society of America came up for discussion. Without reservation, it was decided to merge the older organization into the larger and newer one, and to give the support of extension workers in Rural Sociology to the Rural Sociological Society of America.

OBJECTIVES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY EXTENSION¹⁶

The general objectives of Agricultural Extension have been stated as . . . "diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics, and to encourage the application of the same." More adequate incomes, the co-operative spirit, the wise use of leisure time, and higher standards of life are the results to be desired.

Rural sociology extension contributes to the attainment of these general objectives by developing with rural people the science and art of living and of working in groups, through assisting them in:

1. Analyzing their larger community situations.
2. Thinking through the principles underlying their group relationships.
3. Discovering needed adjustments.
4. Planning for desired improvements.
5. Developing practical methods of procedure.
6. Applying these methods.

This development is concerned with individual adjustments and with such group adjustments as:

1. The family group in its inner and outer relationships.
2. Voluntary interest group relationships.
2. Co-operative group relationships (e.g., membership morale).
4. Town and country relations.

¹⁶ As drawn at the National Meeting of Rural Sociology Extension Workers, Cleveland, Ohio, December 26, 27, 1930.

5. Local governmental groups in relation to tax-supported institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, hospitals, public welfare, etc.).
6. The individual and the group in relation to their cultural environment.

The general objective is to stimulate specific activities contributing to the development of human values and rural talent, and to assist rural people in developing and co-ordinating their various groups and institutions in relation to their priority and emphasis in community building.

The Missouri Standard Community Plan After Thirteen Years†

*Material Selected by Douglas Ensminger**

ABSTRACT

This paper gives the results of a partial analysis of the "Standard Community Association" plan as it was developed in Missouri. The principal items included in this program were: (1) Leadership; (2) community planning; (3) recreation; and (4) dramatics. This project was started as a combination of demonstration and experiment.

The general findings indicate that: (1) This form of community organization appears to have merit as a medium of developing social and economic planning on a community basis; (2) Insofar as the plan is a stereotyped one, it cannot be generally applied to all types of small communities; (3) This comprehensive structural type of community development involving a set procedure should be applied only under the most favorable conditions, and not until a thorough analysis of the community has been made; (4) The idea of the community as a working unit appears to be sound; (5) Probably one of the best plans for the development of most rural communities is that of helping existing local organizations to pursue their own work on a community-wide basis in the most effective manner; and (6) Communities generally are in need of help in developing leadership, and programs of work.

The extension specialist in rural sociology has for many years been attempting to define his field. While the extension specialist has been engaged in his task, the administrator has stood by waiting for some concrete results to come of this newly developed program.

This paper has as its purpose the presentation of the findings from a partial analysis of a plan of rural community organization as it was applied by the specialist in rural sociology in the Agricultural Extension Service, College of Agriculture, University of Missouri.

The study was made in 1936 and extended to 110 communities. It concerned primarily the "Standard Community Association" plan as it was used in furthering the development of rural communities through local program planning. At the time of the inquiry, there were 26 active

† The material for this paper was taken from an unpublished report, *Community Organization in Missouri*, by E. L. Morgan and Annabel Fountain Howard, the Agricultural Extension Service, University of Missouri, 1937. This material is presented with the approval of Dean F. B. Mumford, College of Agriculture, University of Missouri. Missouri AES Journal Series 566.

* Graduate Assistant, Department of Rural Social Organization, Cornell University.

and 84 inactive community association clubs. No effort was made to evaluate the effect of community organization upon the social structure and the development of the community involved.

Historical Background. The rural sociology extension project at the University of Missouri was the outgrowth of a number of conferences between extension executives, the resident staff, and certain farm leaders, who were drawn together by a belief that there are distinctly human relation values in rural life which should be conserved and further developed.

While there was no definite prearranged program, it was agreed to add a rural social organization specialist to the agricultural extension staff to develop and pursue a program which might result in more effective community relations among farm people, and serve as a stimulus to those existing rural agencies concerned with the more human interest aspects of rural life.

Accordingly, in October of 1923, Mr. B. L. Hummel of Indiana assumed the post of extension specialist in rural sociology. After reasonable study of the state and conferences with interested persons, a project was drawn which received the approval of the Extension Division of the United States Department of Agriculture. The principal items were: (1) Leadership training; (2) Community Planning; (3) Recreation; and (4) Dramatics.

Following the resignation of Mr. Hummel in the fall of 1928, Mr. Fred Boyd assumed this responsibility and served until August of 1931. From that time until 1936 the extension project had only such direction as the resident staff in rural sociology could render. During these thirteen years, the various items in the project were developed with reasonably satisfactory results in terms of the participation of rural people and their request for extended services. Since there appeared to be a particular need for a means by which rural people could meet regularly for a general consideration of their affairs, major emphasis was given to the community planning aspect of the project as a demonstration in rural organization.

The Standard Community Association Plan. The term "organization" as used by social scientists refers to a development of and adjustment among the various factors which comprise a social unit (such as a farm women's club, an agricultural co-operative society, or a community), with a view to conducting its affairs in an orderly way based on plan-

ning, rather than in a disorderly manner in which certain factors may be well developed while others are allowed to lag behind. The goal is to have all the members of a group co-operatively working toward a rational development of the complete group interest through the effective functioning of its various parts or factors.

In the Standard Community plan these factors comprise agriculture, education, civic affairs, home affairs, social affairs, transportation, public health, and religion.¹ A reasonable development of each of these to the greatest degree possible under the circumstances appears to be necessary if the life of the people is to proceed in an effective, orderly manner.

In his discussion of the Standard Community Association, B. L. Hummel says: "Community organization consists in such a progressive correlation of the major interests of the people as will result in rational co-operative endeavor. This usually manifests itself in the conscious planning of a practical and comprehensive long-time program of community development.

"Community organization means the people of a community thinking in terms of their common good, laying definite plans for the solution of their common problems and, finally, the development of a practical means of carrying out their plan through cooperative effort. The Missouri Standard Community Association is just one definite, workable plan for bringing this about."²

There were thirty counties in which community clubs were organized at one time, but these no longer function. The average duration of these inactive clubs is 3.7 years, although actually the range is from less than one year to twelve years.

Determinants of Success or Failure. In the study of the active and inactive clubs an effort was made to discover what factors contributed to success or failure. The following appeared to be significant:

1. Community Solidarity. The influence of the church varied. The findings indicated that the church was an important cohesive factor, though often a disrupting influence. Sources of friction traceable to rivalry between religious sects within the community were carried over into the club leadership and organizational procedure.

¹ Since religion is a much debated question without the immediate possibility of agreement, it was thought wise to omit a consideration of this factor in the Standard Community Organization plan.

² B. L. Hummel, *Community Organization in Missouri*, Missouri AES Circular 209 (Columbus, September, 1928), p. 9.

In the present active clubs the tendency of the primary forces seemed to center about the consolidated school and tradings areas. Consolidated schools appeared to be the selective factor most adapted to the plan of organization.

2. Size of Area. From the beginning the school district was used as a measuring device. The clubs varied from one to fifteen in the number of districts included. The former appeared too small to assume such a comprehensive program of work. On the other hand, the inclusion of a large number of school districts often meant that the natural boundaries had been passed unnoticed. Six districts was the number in which the plan functioned most successfully.

3. Type of Area. The open country and small village were more favorable to the continuation of community associations than the village of 1,000 or more population. Of the sixteen active clubs surviving ten years or more, not one was in a village of more than 350 population, seven were in villages of less than 100 population, and four were in open country.

4. Meeting Place. It appeared that all active clubs felt that the meeting place presented no problems, while 61 per cent of the eighty-four inactive clubs reported the lack of satisfactory meeting place as being a factor of small attendance.

5. Young People. Twenty-one of the twenty-six active clubs had been successful in interesting young people, while among the inactives only eleven had been successful and seventy-three had not.

6. Emigration from Community. Only four of the actives reported attendance loss due to families leaving the community, while forty-three of the inactives reported this as a cause. While there might have been no available means of avoiding this as an influence, it appeared that the actives were located in communities having a stable population.

7. Leadership. One of the problems common not only to Missouri, but to all states interested in the development of rural affairs, is the discovery and development of adequate leaders to direct activities of rural people. Of the actives, twenty-five, or 96.2 per cent, found the county extension agent to be of assistance, and only one club reported that it did not. This was almost completely reversed in the report of the inactives, where seventy-three, or 86.9 per cent, reported that they did not get definite assistance from the county agents, and eleven, or 13.1 per cent, reported that they did.

The active communities reported no scarcity of those who could lead, if they were solicited. This was true for only twenty-two clubs, or 26 per cent of the inactives. However, the report of sixty-two, or 74 per cent, of the inactives indicated an absence in the community of persons possessing leadership ability. The outstanding lack appeared to be that of training and general education of the farm group in the field of community organization.

The need for practical education in the field of leadership training was clear when it was found that all the active and 97.6 per cent of the inactive associations reported a need for local leadership training.

The tendency toward centralization of leadership in a few persons was further brought out by the answer to the question, "Do leaders put the same persons on important committees year after year?" Only six, or 23.1 per cent, of the actives reported this tendency, while eighty, or 95.2 per cent of the inactives, reported it. This implied for the actives a rather general distribution of minor leadership responsibilities among people of the community, while among inactives it was heavily marked with the possibility of a small group attempting to run the organization year after year.

8. Willingness of People to Work in Club. Here again the difference between active and inactive was striking. Twenty-one, or 80.8 per cent, of the actives reported that they had no difficulty in getting people to work in the club, while among the inactives, seventy-four, or 94 per cent, reported that while the club was in existence they had difficulty here.

9. Definite Program of Work. All active clubs adopted an annual program of work, while this was true for only thirteen of the inactive. This item merely adds to the foregoing accumulated evidence that active clubs tended to follow the outlined plan rather closely, while inactives did not.

While it is difficult to assign definitely either cause or effect in such matters, it seems reasonable to conclude that general neglect of many factors thought to be of importance might have been the determining factor in the failure of many associations.

General Findings:

1. The Standard Community Association project was started as a combination of demonstration and experiment. It was a demonstration in that it embodied a well-recognized plan and procedure, and an ex-

periment in its application to Missouri conditions. As it developed, it was subject to the vicissitudes of both local rural conditions and administrative procedure, including a desire for what may have been abnormal expansion. This resulted in an effort to apply the Standard Community Association plan in some communities which were not basically adapted to its development.

2. This form of community organization appears to have merit as a medium for developing social and economic planning on a community basis. After six years without either direct promotion or supervision, it is now being applied with reasonable success in twenty-six communities widely distributed throughout the state, where the directions are closely followed and where the local conditions are favorable.

3. Insofar as the plan is a stereotyped one, it cannot be generally applied to all types of small communities. Essential factors are a homogeneous stable population, predominant good will, experience in practical co-operation, reasonable economic well-being, and willing and competent local and county leadership.

4. This comprehensive structural type of community development involving a set procedure should be applied under the most favorable conditions only, and not until a thorough analysis of the community has been made. As a fixed procedure, it should be thought of as a medium by which a particular type of superior community can proceed to that most difficult task of definite, comprehensive social and economic planning.

5. However, the idea of the community as a working unit appears to be sound. It is difficult to see how many present-day rural problems can be solved without the active participation and planning of farm people on a practical co-operating basis, which means the community. Obviously, the method used should be adapted to both the community and the nature of the work to be done.

6. Probably one of the best plans for the development of most rural communities is that of helping existing local organizations to pursue their own work on a community-wide basis in the most effective manner. In some instances one of these can be supplemented or expanded to serve as a means by which the entire community may work together, while in other cases several existing organizations may need to co-operate to achieve desired ends.

7. There are five outstanding rural community needs which are rather

generally reported from over the state. They appear to be sociological in nature and of sufficient importance to warrant serious consideration. They will probably not be met fully in Missouri unless supplied by some such public agency as the Agricultural Extension Service.

- a. A simple plan by which rural communities may work together to discover and develop their own resources, to analyze their problems, and to use their resources at hand and those which can be developed in the solving of their problems.
- b. The training of local and county leaders in the practical aspects of the work they will do.
- c. The further development of sociability and co-operativeness among farm people.
- d. Practical assistance to rural communities in recreation, dramatics, music, and public address.
- e. The supplying of program materials to various rural organizations.

An Evaluation of the Plan: In talking with local people and county extension agents, there were rather definite opinions and attitudes which developed toward the Standard plan. While not all the points here included were mentioned by any one person, nor a given one mentioned by all persons, they recurred with sufficient frequency to warrant their being stated as a composite evaluation.

A. By Local People:

- a. It is an excellent plan for community development, if carried out in detail. However, it is a heavy load and needs continuous attention.
- b. The meetings provide social occasions which all members of the family can attend and enjoy. Such occasions are reported as representing a distinct need.
- c. It develops the community's consciousness of problems to be worked out. The year-round program continually keeps outstanding needs before the people.
- d. Ideally, the plan develops local leaders. In practice, however, this function cannot be realized unless adequate specialized direction and training are provided.
- e. It provides for participation of a number of local people.
- f. An outlet is provided for local talent in young people as well as old.

- g. The plan provides a medium through which the technical agricultural and homemaking projects of the county can be carried out with the community assuming the initiative.
 - h. It utilizes the planning idea which is needed for well-balanced growth and prevents one-sided development of the community.
 - i. For continued success, assistance is needed in good program materials, including one-act plays, and in recreational leadership.
 - j. Without local leadership training and close supervision by the county extension agents, the carrying out of the plan is beyond the leadership experience and ability present in most country communities.
- B. By County Extension Agents:
- a. If the plan is followed closely, it is a good method to get general community interest with the participation of a number of people.
 - b. The plan gives county agents a natural avenue of approach to the affairs of the community. The agent is called upon to aid the community in its own enterprise instead of having to ask the community to co-operate with him. He tends to become indispensable to the community and not merely an outsider.
 - c. Regular extension projects are more easily and effectively carried out in communities with Standard Associations. Agricultural projects require less time and effort in these communities. The plan presents an excellent opportunity to the county extension agents to discover and train local leaders for all aspects of the extension program.
 - d. It is a complex and delicate piece of social machinery which has to be "lived with" to make it succeed. Particular attention must be given to the annual meeting, the annual program of work, the work of committees, the use of the record chart, leadership training, and keeping the program well advertised.
 - e. In order to be applicable to a larger variety of communities, the plan needs to be adaptable to local conditions.
 - f. The plan places a heavy leadership load upon local people who are not accustomed to it. Because of this, a thorough local leadership training project should accompany the plan. It is assuming too much to expect local people to carry on without outside stimulus and guidance.
 - g. The complete plan pertains to the field of sociology and social organization in which most county extension agents have had

neither training nor experience. Some agents, recognizing the fact, do not favor the plan in their counties. They say frankly that they do not know how it is done. Others say that the results obtained do not help the agent's statistical report, especially in improved practices adopted.

- h. The active associations should be given sufficient direction and subject-matter assistance to enable them to continue as a further experiment.
- i. If this work is to be extended further, the project should be led by a specialist well trained in social organization, an outstanding leader acquainted with general extension procedure.

The Radio and Rural Research

*F. Howard Forsyth**

ABSTRACT

Radio, as an instrument of diffusion of urban culture and two-way levelling of rural and urban cultures, has and will have effects which if not incalculable are at least still uncalculated. Measurement of these effects awaits statement of crucial hypotheses.

Several hypotheses, taken mostly from American research reports, are suggested: (1) that radio will consolidate changes in some folkways of rural recreation, (2) that rural listeners demand different dialogue and music, (3) that radio is reducing rural-urban social distance, (4) that this partially follows the effects of farm broadcasts on city listeners, (5) that the impact of radio is nevertheless greater upon rural than urban listeners, (6) that the acceptability of radio is greater among higher-income farmers than other farmers, (7) that radio reorganizes the farmer's use of time, (8) that radio has affected the life of farm women, (9) that radio provides programs differentially adapted to inter-family differences in sex and age, and (10) that despite the levelling effect of radio it is a potentially partisan instrument in rural class consciousness.

A broad common sense hypothesis frequently made is that radio listening among farmers and villagers has in less than two decades contributed to vast reorganization of the attitudes and life habits of these listeners, particularly in the area of rural-urban social distance.

Measurement testing this hypothesis is complicated by the presence of other factors than radio which have also become increasingly influential during the same period, the individual effects of which have not been isolated. Since 1920 especially there has been marked growth in other types of rural-urban communication. The most obvious, automobile travel, has itself a number of aspects: longer and more frequent business trips by both the farmer and his wife (the latter no longer restricted by the fact that "the team" is being used for plowing); easy business access of rural areas over good roads by urban people for commercial purposes; flight from the drought areas; migrating farm labor; migrating tenants in both south and north; use of the car by the farmer, his wife, the family for pleasure; pleasure-bound urbanites moving in the opposite direction; visiting of friends or relatives in both directions; and the vacation tour. There has been increased rural-urban communi-

* Graduate Instructor in Rural Sociology, University of Minnesota.

cation over telephone and telegraph. The tremendous growth of the moving picture industry must be included. Daily newspaper circulation has spread outward from the city. Increased formal education of rural children, partly expressed through consolidation, may have contributed to communicability. Letter writing and use of R. F. D., bus service, urbanizing of rural merchandising, and many other items would find their place in a more complete list. The effects of these concurrent changes in almost eliminating the older antithesis of "city slicker and country hick" are obvious but difficult to subject to significant test.

If the rural social scientist is to investigate the effects of radio listening, there must be some refinement of the hypothesis stated above.

The student of rural people immediately discovers that radio broadcasting as now constituted includes a rather large amount of material specifically designed for the rural audience. This audience has grown from what Salisbury¹ estimated as a million rural families (half of them farm families) owning receiving sets in 1926 to what Brunner and Lorge² estimated as seven million rural families with radios in 1936. In at least two states, Iowa and New Hampshire, the percentage of farm families with radios in 1930 was greater than the percentage of urban

TABLE 1
FARM FAMILIES WITH RADIOS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, IN 1930

Census Division	Farm Families Reporting Radios	
	Number	Percentage
All United States.....	1,371,073	20.8
New England.....	51,812	44.6
Middle Atlantic.....	161,775	42.0
East North Central.....	380,751	36.5
West North Central.....	445,795	39.2
South Atlantic.....	59,152	5.1
East South Central.....	37,437	3.4
West South Central.....	71,196	6.2
Mountain.....	62,931	24.9
Pacific.....	100,224	36.0

Source: *Fifteenth Census of the United States. Agriculture. Summary for the United States, 1929-30.*

¹ Morse Salisbury, "Radio and the Farmer," *Annals American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXVII (1935), 141-46.

² Edmund deS. Brunner and Irving Lorge, *Rural Trends in Depression Years* (New York, 1937), p. 198.

families with radios.³ The size of the audience, however, varies with the region, as the table shows.⁴

Many stations arose primarily to serve a rural audience. The powerful KFKX at Hastings, Nebraska, was one. Sears Roebuck at one time operated WLS in Chicago and leased three other stations to reach their buyers.⁵ Many other stations cater particularly to farmers. The National Farm and Home hour⁶ reached its 3,010th program July 12, 1938. In early 1926 the U. S. Department of Agriculture set up its radio service in the office of information.⁷ A great many of the land-grant colleges, more than a score in 1933, operate stations, most of them largely for the rural audience, although only a small part of their program material is of the nature considered "rural" by urban commercial radio people. Few stations except in the largest metropolitan cities fail to include a few programs designed specifically for out-of-city listeners.

Radio programs that farmers may and do hear should be divided not only into the foregoing classification of rural and urban programs,⁸ even the programs primarily for farmers can be subclassified into those for entertainment and those with service or vocational ends to serve. In contrast to urban listeners, farmers find radio to a larger extent an economic contribution in giving weather reports (particularly frost reports for fruit growers and blizzard reports for stockmen), market quotations, AAA news, scientific findings for agriculture, services to homemakers, and other agricultural information. Much of this material has obvious and practical significance; it undoubtedly is reflected in changes in rural behavior.

³ Salisbury, *op. cit.*

⁴ Taken from J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston, 1935), p. 388.

⁵ Salisbury, *op. cit.*

⁶ "Radio for the Farm Folk," *Wallace's Farmer*, LX (1935), 469.

⁷ Morse Salisbury, *A Report of Experience of United States Department of Agriculture in Broadcasting Information* (Washington, 1934). Mimeographed.

⁸ Strictly, this classification would be "specifically rural" programs and "all others." But the urban bias of ordinary entertainment is such that the "all others" could well enough be called urban programs. If they are suited to farm listeners it may be taken as evidence of urbanized farmers. Many of these programs can be easily identified as urban by the nature of accompanying advertising, which under the characteristic (and almost unique) U. S. broadcasting pattern is one method of isolating the audience which the studio assumes is listening. Daytime programs are particularly easy to place in this way. An item that influences programs is geographical distance of listeners. Until the perfection in 1930 of the air-cell battery which improved receptivity of the farm radios (almost all of which are battery type) and a perfected tube for low amperage, in 1932, farmers were definitely handicapped, as they are still to a degree by the necessity of periodic replacement of electrical power.

The proposition of this paper however is that from the classification given (A, urban programs; B, rural programs, a, recreational, and b, utilitarian), the most fruitful realm for rural social research is in area A, those programs which presumably are having urbanizing impact upon the rural way of (psychosocial) life. Departments of agriculture and specific agencies would profit greatly from accurate knowledge of the effects of the utilitarian broadcasting and the mechanism of its influence. But the implications in the broad hypothesis at the beginning of this paper can be traced best in classification A,⁹ for the long-run sociological effects of radio in rural life will be wrought mostly in this realm.¹⁰

The real problem for research is how to develop significant hypotheses within these limits, and formulate them in practicable terms. Some speculations in this realm have been made in recent literature on the radio and the farmer (for bibliography see footnote references). On the basis of these studies and speculations, some tentative hypotheses might well be listed.

1. *Radio has transformed, and will continue to transform, certain folkways of rural recreation.*

Steiner¹¹ suggested that rural people in the United States have recently dropped many of their historic recreations but have not yet adopted an equal amount of urban recreation. The national trend toward urban types of recreation may be seen as a trend away from the group recreations of the past (neighborhood recreation, chiefly, as in the

The psycho-social significance of this tardiness was that broadcasting patterns had time to become standardized under urban-listening influence. Population per square mile also diminishes rapidly with increasing distance from the station, once outside the city limits. With the decline in numbers of listeners (i.e., buyers), goes a decline of studio interest in their tastes and in efforts to supply programs for them. Possibility of quick response to programs is also lessened when the listener is out of telephone range, when the listener cannot drop a two-cent letter in the corner mailbox, and when he or she feels the station is far away and thereby not particularly interested in letters of protest or approval.

This discussion does not presume to assert that the programs which have obviously arisen under urban influence are accurately representative of anything fundamental in the way urban people view art (music, radio drama, dialogue, humor) as distinct from rural art. That is a question not yet accurately measured, to say the least. Urban programs, as referred to here, are those programs arising under urban influences.

⁹ This elementary classification may also be useful to all people who discuss the radio and rural life, irrespective of possible research purposes. It clarifies the actual aspect of radio under discussion, an item often uncritically neglected. It is suggested here that even when teachers, speakers, and writers are not conscious of this classification, they probably are using it and actually referring only or chiefly to classification A, "urban" programs.

¹⁰ Hypotheses 4 and 10 are exceptions to this proposition.

¹¹ Jesse F. Steiner, "The Urbanization of Rural Recreation," *Americans at Play* (New York, 1933).

many "bees" of the agricultural past, and family recreation) and toward individual recreation of today, or, perhaps, recreation in couples.

Radio seems to offer an adaptable time pattern, in contradistinction to other town and urban recreations, most of which offered limitations to farmer participation because of the hours on which they occurred. The farmer's hours differ from urban working hours so much that that fact alone has put him under a handicap. It also took him longer to get to recreational functions, partly because of greater distance to travel and partly because it was a greater personal transition from work to urban play. At work his clothes more frankly serve physically adaptive functions, but for urban play he must change completely into clothes that serve chiefly a social function. The social contacts of urban play also demand better bathing and cleaner shaving and facials than are necessary on the tractor or in the milkhouse.

American farmers are becoming increasingly commercial, but it is still true that they deal less in ready cash than do people on pay rolls. This has meant that the farmer and members of his family are less likely to have money in their pockets at all times, and explains the additional psychological factor of less familiarity with money changing and therefore more resistance to it. These have been handicapping factors in farmer participation in the ordinary recreations which increasingly dominate American life. But radio presumably makes possible farmer participation in urban recreations without the necessity of sweeping and unlikely changes in his pecuniary folkways.

The farmer has characteristically provided recreations through his institutions, as more or less secondary functions of his church, school, family life, and neighborhood life. When investigating effects of radio on rural life, research men may profitably test the hypothesis that the radio culture complex develops new rural folkways but also to an extent reintegrates recreation with family life and certain other aspects of the rural culture.¹²

2. *Rural listeners demand and respond to somewhat different dialogue and music than urban listeners.*

This hypothesis must be particularly tentative. It is supported by only scattered studies (most of them probably with regional limitations), and is subject to recent and current changes known to be rapid although un-

¹² This latter has been called "strain toward self-consistency" by Sumner in *Folkways* (Boston, 1906), p. 5.

measured. It is probable that the areas where radios are fewest (see the table) have a different set of demands about dialogue and music. Many national radio programs avoid selected areas, particularly in the South. It may be found useful to test a subhypothesis that length of time of radio listening is positively correlated with adaptability to urban type words and music, other factors being held constant.

It may be that farmers demand a different style and diction of radio announcing,¹³ a more relaxed and kindly type of humor.¹⁴ It has been suggested the farmer's buying habits are meditative and slow motioned.¹⁵ It is said they tire of the smart, hard Broadway type of showmanship.¹⁶

Most familiar of the suggested hypotheses about music is that rural people prefer old-time music,¹⁷ hillbilly airs,¹⁸ cowboy songs,¹⁹ and sacred music,²⁰ and that they dislike jazz,²¹ and classical music and grand opera.²² Some of these items however were gathered by small studies and as early as 1926. All of them should perhaps be held suspect until facile statement is substantiated by more thorough research. Some of these preferences may be better correlated with age differences than with rural-urban differences. Contrary evidence is the statement by one of the major networks²³ that farmers like symphony music.²⁴

This hypothesis is dangerous and difficult to check without ample data from many parts of the country. Adequate information one way or the other however would contribute greatly to knowledge of the extent of community of feeling between rural and urban radio listeners.

3. *Radio is reducing rural-urban social distance.*²⁵

This hypothesis is in one sense the most obvious and most generalized in the list. It is likely to elude easy demonstration for the reason that numerous other contemporary factors are reducing rural-urban social

¹³ Salisbury, *see* footnote 7.

¹⁴ C. M. Wilson, *Money at the Crossroads* (New York, 1937).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ F. H. Lumley, *Measurement in Radio* (Columbus, Ohio, 1934).

¹⁸ Morse Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *Educational Broadcasting* 1936, ed. C. S. March (Chicago, 1937), pp. 250-59.

¹⁹ Wilson, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Arthur Capper, "What Radio Can Do For the Farmer," *Radio and Education*, ed. Levering Tyson (Chicago, 1932), pp. 223-40; Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *op. cit.*

²¹ Lumley, *op. cit.*

²² Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *op. cit.*

²³ Wilson, *op. cit.*

²⁴ *Report of the Director of Information* (U. S. D. A., Office of Information, 1935).

²⁵ Social distance in the sense of in-group acceptance, after Bogardus.

distance. Great care may well accompany efforts to test this hypothesis, and refine it further than its present speculative state. Farmers with and without radios may be studied for differential between them and their urban neighbors, holding constant factors such as extent of education, income level, and some of the more crucial of the communication factors listed in the introduction to this paper.

4. *Decreasing social distance is partially resultant from the ruralizing effect of farm broadcasts upon city listeners.*

Rural-urban social distance may obviously be lessened by adjustment on the part of either group, and if urban radios are not turned off during the many broadcasts with agricultural slanting, it may be that the increasingly urban nation has that additional contact.²⁶ It is known that the National Farm and Home Hour has many urban listeners. Political speeches over the radio in a city often refer to farmers and their problems in a manner which would not be necessary if the speech were given on an urban platform without a microphone. Emergency weather reports when heard by city dwellers could easily stimulate empathy. What have been called emergency farm policies of the federal government have called for various broadcasts from city studios.

The first step in research to develop this hypothesis would be a charting of the programs given by various radio stations, a type of case history of their program material, with an analysis of the probable extent of their listeners and the percentages that are urban. Listening habits studies in the urban radio audience would throw further light on the problem.

5. *The impact of radio is greater upon rural than upon city listeners.*

This would follow from the general analysis which indicates that the radio is located in the city and is an urban culture complex.²⁷ The nature of the complex is more rural than urban, and therefore its diffusion into both areas has a differential modifying effect, changing the unlike rural ways of life more than the already similar urban ways of life.

This hypothesis seems particularly difficult to test. Case studies of

²⁶ Salisbury, *Radio and the Farmer*, *op. cit.*, p. 146, wrote, "For the first time in history [radio] has given city people some comprehension of the economic problem of the farmer, and some understanding of the fact that permanent city prosperity cannot be founded on farm poverty." Of course, urban people may be irritated by the farm broadcasts. This would increase social distance.

²⁷ "[It is] clear that the radio is primarily an urban phenomenon," wrote Malcolm M. Willey and Stuart A. Rice in "The Agencies of Communication," *Recent Social Trends in the United States* (New York, 1933), pp. 166-217.

families through a period in which they acquire their first radios may be helpful. This would probably be best done in the regions where radio is now least prevalent. Other studies could check the effects of some specific appeal over the radio upon both urban and rural families. Lack of as many competing stimuli in the case of farm families should contribute to the effect suggested by the hypothesis. Parallel studies of the urban effects of hypotheses 1 and 3 may contribute to clarifying this proposition.

Should radio be found to have greater effects upon children than on adults, this would have rural-urban implications because of the differential in age-group percentages.

6. *The acceptability of radio broadcasting, aimed at a buying public, is higher among higher-income farmers where social distance is already less.*

One of the large networks, in a bulletin intended for prospective advertising clients, said, "It is upon the buying power of the 'Grade A' farmer that country merchandising survives."²⁸

The actual present and future effects of the commercial basis of U. S. broadcasting are not easy to state in a hypothesis of possible significance or of research utility. But it may be presumed that the larger broadcasting stations can and possibly will ignore a broad stratum of farmers. To the degree that low-income farmers are geographically localized, this neglect would be expected to be regional.²⁹

7. *Radio is reorganizing (at the same time that it adapts to) the farmers' use of time.*

Clock watching has never fitted well into the agricultural occupation, where one extra "round" may mean lunch at one o'clock instead of high noon, and two hours or so longer before sunset may salvage several hundred dollars worth of produce before the storm or frost. But radio time schedules in the United States are punctilious, and some students suggest the farmer is adapting himself to them. The National Farm and Home Hour is released from Chicago studios beginning at 11:30 A.M. and relayed two hours later to the Pacific Coast. It has been suggested³⁰ that the farm housewife has seen an effect of this regular noon-

²⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.*

²⁹ Rural broadcasting is however much less commercial than the urban, as indicated by the USDA programs and those of the land-grant colleges. This hypothesis would be useful with reference to most other broadcasting, although less applicable to the local independent stations.

³⁰ E. deS. Brunner, *Radio and the Farmer* (New York, 1935).

time broadcast. Best broadcasting hours have been variously estimated as early in the morning, from twelve to two o'clock at noon,³¹ and in the early evening.³² Farm women appear to listen fairly well throughout the morning. The studies indicate farmers still go to bed early, although there is some suggestion that farm bedtimes have been pushed into later hours.³³

National Broadcasting Company estimated farmers are at home fifty-one weeks per year.³⁴ The seasonal listening of farmers is a significant aspect of the time-adaptation. In winter months some farmers have more time to listen than town and city people.³⁵ Even if the farmer avoids the urbanizing effect of radio in the summer, winter offers time to liquidate the deficit.

8. *Radio has broadened the horizon and cheered the life of farm women.*

It would seem important to chart the changes in the woman-centered family configuration³⁶ wrought by the rise of rural radio listening. The traditional loneliness of farm women has been reduced by other recent changes, but none may be more significant than radio. Family care, homemaking practices, the use of time, a new affairs-consciousness, and other aspects within the farm home may show response to the broad diet of radio broadcasting.³⁷

9. *Radio, while providing family recreation, also lays the basis for family disharmony through programs differentially adapted to sex, age, and interest differences.*

This hypothesis arises not so much from the materials indicated in the bibliographical materials, but derives from casual observation. It was suggested earlier in this paper that some of the preferences superficially

³¹ Steiner, *op. cit.*

³² Brunner, *op. cit.*; Lumley, *op. cit.*; and Steiner, *op. cit.*

³³ Wilson, *op. cit.*

³⁴ N. B. C. is frankly interested in higher income farmers; other farmers probably stay home fifty-two weeks per year.

³⁵ In private conversation with the manager of the music department of one of the two great mail order houses, the author learned that musical instruments enjoy the best sale from their store in January. As merchandising goes, this is a notable phenomenon.

³⁶ Rural sociologists, most of whom are men, have been charged with seeing the rural family through male eyes. This is apparent, particularly to home economists who have recently been invading sociology through the kitchen, nursery, and living room where their colleagues through neglect left the doors open.

³⁷ A. L. Eisenberg, "Children's Interest in and Reactions to Radio Programs" (in *Education on the Air*, Institute for Education by Radio, 5th Yearbook, Columbus, Ohio, 1934), pp. 318-22; Brunner, *op. cit.*; and Report of the Director of Information, *op. cit.*

called rural may be more accurately the preferences of (rural) adults or aged people. If it should still prove true that the rural family is more patriarchal than the urban family, and more under the influence of older adults, it follows that the student should look behind "rural" preferences for possible age conflict, overt or covert.

The rural family, particularly in some areas, differs enough from the urban family that it should prove profitable to study possible age and sex differentials among rural radio listeners.

10. *Despite the levelling effect of radio, farmer class consciousness may arise from certain uses of radio.*

The unifying effect of radio may be unique among communicative devices. In a carefully compiled book,⁸⁸ Cantril and Allport say:

. . . it seems to be the nature of radio to encourage people to think and feel alike. . . . Any device that carries messages instantaneously and inexpensively to the furthest and most inaccessible regions, . . . that penetrates all manner of social, political, and economic barriers, is by nature a powerful agent of democracy. (Levelling?) Millions of people listen to the same thing at the same time—and they themselves are aware of the fact (p. 20). The daily experience of hearing the announcer say "This program is coming to you over a coast-to-coast network" inevitably increases our sense of membership in the national family. It lays the foundation for homogeneity (p. 21).

Salisbury seemed particularly convinced of a developing class-consciousness among U. S. farmers who have been listening for nearly a decade to reiteration of their asserted national unity and of the effects of national price levels and even international economics on farm income.⁸⁹

Testing this hypothesis demands nation-wide analysis. The voting behavior of farmers and their participation in farm organization, with reference to radio appeals or campaigns, should offer useful data. It may be in this realm that some of the most significant effects of rural broadcasting will be evident.

The chief research project in the field of radio that may be postulated for rural social scientists lies in charting the psychosocial changes that may have followed from the far-flung entry of the world's broadcasting studios into the homes of American farmers. The chief problem probably is isolating radio as a factor from other communication changes. This can be done through careful statement of hypotheses precise enough to encourage meaningful investigation.

⁸⁸ Hadley Cantril and G. W. Allport, *The Psychology of Radio* (New York, 1935).

⁸⁹ See footnote 1.

The challenge to rural research in this realm is particularly acute because of the part radio has played in some countries and may well play in the United States in the growth of a great propaganda. Without a quickly mobilized knowledge of the farmer's changing mind, rural sociologists could easily be left helpless to explain changes some believe not improbable. To date, not even the large farm organizations have seemed to sense the potentialities of a controlled radio. Certain national and international changes could conceivably encourage such a step.

Other sweeping changes may be pending, following from certain technical advances which, it has been suggested, could throw instantaneously the resources of great metropolitan newspapers or national book publishers into the livingrooms of every home possessing an instrument which would be not unlike the present radio. The implications of this possibility open vistas to students of rural change. Preparation for understanding the changes that may be ahead demands understanding of the changes now in process.

The Good American Earth

*Robert Douglas Bowden**

ABSTRACT

The problems of American agriculture are much deeper than an occasional cotton, wheat, or corn surplus. Likewise, any proposed remedies sufficient in scope and vitality to effect a realistic solution of them must be more drastic and fundamental than can be found in crop reduction formulas, farm debentures, or price-pegging operations. Human and social values are in the center of the picture and involve much more than economic appeasement of landlords.

To preserve these values we must preserve the stability of the family-farm as an institution, and such stability is incompatible with increasing absentee landlordism. The probable solution will involve government aid to co-operative efforts of farmers themselves to preserve their own holdings by the elimination, through legal means, of farm mortgages, sharecroppers, and all their attendant evils.

The farm problem is a perennial topic of conversation, but like Mark Twain's retort about the weather, nobody does anything effective about it. To be sure, a lot of legislative mustard poultices have been concocted and applied here and there with characteristic American abandon, but the old pain is pretty deep-seated and continues to give the victim some rather bad nights. And nightmares!

It is not too much to say that the average American citizen has no adequate conception of the brutal net of circumstances which holds the farmer, rural-farm life, and the family-farm institution in a stranglehold from which it seems impossible for him to escape, and Mr. Average Citizen doesn't appear too much concerned about it. Perhaps one reason why he doesn't seem concerned is that the farm problem has never been envisaged and treated as a single unit; one or more of its factors is brought forward occasionally and given the spot for a brief season, but never the problem as a whole. The causal factors which have been engendering this unhealthy condition are not new; they have been brewing for generations, but only recently have they emerged from the debris of raging prosperity sufficiently to allow some degree of assurance in their delineation.

The farm problem is an inclusive term embracing a number of im-

* Head of the Department of Sociology, Southern Illinois State Normal University.

portant factors, the more significant of which may be grouped under three heads:

First, The Family-Farm as an Institution, the Farm Community, and Their Social and Economic Needs.

Second, The Land and Its Ownership.

Third, The Land and Its Products.

These are not separate problems but are interrelated and essential factors in one big problem, and they cannot be dealt with separately any more than one can repair the radiator of a wrecked automobile and expect the entire machine to perform satisfactorily.

No proof is needed, I think, beyond the mere statement, to support the claim that the family is the fundamental unit of civilization. That is as true of the urban family, of course, as it is of the rural-farm family, but at present our interests are with the rural phase of the problem.

It is a sad commentary on our failure to create a better social order that a vast segment of farm youth today are on their way to a lower social and economic level than that enjoyed by their grandparents.

In the twenty-five years from 1910 to 1935 the population of the nation was increased by nearly forty millions, yet the population of rural America decreased slightly over the same period; this, in spite of the fact that during that period there was a net increase of farm births over farm deaths of approximately twelve millions. And during these years the farm problems have become most acute, and those persons remaining on the farms have been constantly drifting to lower economic levels.

According to the 1935 Federal Farm Census one farmer out of every six had been operating his farm less than one year. More than 60 per cent of all farmers had been operating their farms less than ten years. That owners show a much greater stability in the length of occupancy than tenants is shown by the fact that 86 per cent of the tenants had been operating their farms less than ten years. The outstanding and possibly the most important phase of the 1935 Census report, is shown in the movement of sharecropper tenants. For the South as a whole 57 per cent of the tenants had been occupying the farms operated for less than two years.

What is of transcendent importance is that for the 32 states outside the South as a group, the proportion of farms operated by tenants rose 7.4 per cent in the five-year period from 1930 to 1935, or nearly 1.5 per cent a year. The greatest increase in tenancy was in those states in

which farm tenancy was already highest; namely, in the West North Central and the East North Central divisions, the breadbasket of America. Most of these states in the great grain belt of the Mississippi basin have already more than 50 per cent of all their farms operated by tenants.

Proportionately, the decline in the per-acre value of farm land and buildings was far greater for farms operated by tenants than for those operated by owners. The drop between 1930 and 1935 in the per-acre value of tenant farms amounted to 39.2 per cent, while the per-acre value of owner-operated farms decreased only 34.6 per cent. In the South the per-acre value of tenant farms declined 40.4 per cent, while the decrease of owner-operated farms was 33.7 per cent.

It is precisely this group of twenty states that comprise the Mississippi basin where the evils of farm tenancy and absentee-landlordism are increasing most rapidly; that dust storms, soil erosion, and declining farm values present the most serious problems. For the nation as a whole, nearly one farmer out of every three is now having to supplement his income from the farm by part-time work off the farm. But for the twenty states comprising the American breadbasket the rate has been two out of every five who resort to outside work to supplement a miserably low farm income.

But perhaps the greatest tragedy among a number of tragic situations is the changed and changing philosophy of a large part of rural America. No longer is it one of hope and courage and broad visions. Instead it seems to be an acceptance of the thesis that the better things in life are not to be had on the farm and in the small village. Rural people apparently are content to accept the untried clergyman just out of seminary, or one of their own who "preaches by ear." Many of their physicians are mediocre and are expected to send the serious cases to city hospitals or specialists. The young lawyer tries his wings in his home county, then the more ambitious among them drift to the cities. The rural schools are manned by the least able and least experienced teachers whose wages on the average are below that for unskilled labor in industry, or at least not much above that level.

By whatever standard one attempts to measure the direction of the farmer's general welfare—the ominous increase in the sharecropper class, soil erosion and general decline of productivity of much of his land, the increasing instability of his home life as measured in his ever-shorter tenure, or in the appalling lag in opportunities for rural-farm

youth, or the pitifully inadequate family income—it immediately becomes apparent that the lines touching all the factors on the huge graph point downward. The problem of stopping this downward trend has occupied Congress for many years, but Congress hasn't done much toward solving the problems.

Good agricultural acres should never be made the instruments of speculative enterprises. There is no sound reason why any farmer who has proved his ability to farm shouldn't be entitled to and expected to own his own farm of sufficient size to enable him to earn an ample living income for himself and his family. He is entitled to have it well stocked with all the necessary implements to enable him to do a good job. He should be required to improve it from year to year in accordance with the best interests of the total national welfare. *it should be made forever free from the threat of foreclosure for taxes or debts.*

All this, of course, would require a profound change in our whole philosophy of rural life and its concomitants. First, it would be necessary to set up a National Agricultural Corporation with ample authority and resources to rejuvenate farm life in the United States by stabilizing the family-farm unit. Such a corporation would be the general policy-making body which would operate through regional or area boards, which in turn would stimulate and direct local groups in the administration of their own business.

The National Agricultural Corporation should have power

(1) To force

- (a) nonfarm owners of agricultural lands to surrender their acreage to the Corporation in turn for cash or its bonds, the value of such land to be determined on an annual average production basis, and
- (b) corporate farms or estates and individuals with large holdings to reduce such holdings to one-family farms.

Of course this would require some time for full realization, for there should be no attempt at confiscation, but over a period of ten to twenty years the principal objectives could be accomplished. Wherever it becomes necessary to use coercion the public interest should always be paramount in forcing the transfer of ownership from the individual to the Corporation;

- (2) To issue bonds and securities as obligations of the Government to replace obligations now held by private individuals or financial institutions against individual farms;
- (3) To outlaw farm mortgages held by private individuals or financial institu-

tions by making it possible for the mortgagor to transfer his indebtedness from all other holders to the Corporation.

This would require some years to accomplish, for all contractual obligations would have to be honored. If both parties to the mortgage could agree, the transfer could be made at any time, otherwise maturity date would have to be awaited for refinancing. Provision would, of course, have to be made to prevent any new mortgages being legalized;

- (4) To sell to bonafide farmers land thus secured on long-term notes at an interest rate determined only by the cost of administration. In addition the Corporation should extend cash loans on the same basis and in sufficient amounts to enable the farmer to equip his farm and home.

It is as logical to expect a skilled carpenter to construct a first-class home without tools or blueprints as to expect a farmer to make good without tools to work with. And those tools, in the larger sense, since we are speaking of the family-farm as a unit, include all the necessary farm and livestock equipment as well as a modernly equipped home in which to care for a growing family. He is entitled to the help of his government in the beginning of his struggle in the same sense and for the same reason that railroads, or any other of hundreds of corporations, needed cash advances before they could start functioning. Each family-farm institution should be viewed in the beginning, in the words of the economist, as a "going concern";

- (5) To furnish equipment, fertilizers, and guidance to farmers in all efforts toward rehabilitating the soil, forest lands, and a satisfactory community life; and
- (6) To stimulate through an Educational and Planning Committee local co-operatives, both consumers' and marketing, administered at all times in harmony with the ideal of local autonomy.

We should not make the mistake of thinking of this necessary reorganization in terms of bureaucracy. Far from it. After the required steps of breaking, by force if necessary, the pattern of absentee-landlordism and concentrated economic control, the individual farmer would remain entirely free to accept help or reject it. He might continue to be a sharecropper if he so desired. He would not be required to purchase a farm, but the opportunity for him to do so should be presented. He should be required to qualify before being allowed to purchase, such qualification being determined according to standards set up in the Department of Agriculture and administered by local committees. In other words, we are to maintain local autonomy and responsibility as we do in our public school system.

I believe it can be asserted without need of proof or argument that a great many people of the present generation couldn't make good if a farm were donated to them. They have been sharecroppers or renters so long that any abilities of management, thriftiness, or sustained effort they may have possessed at one time have been crushed out of them. The tragic truth is that they are hopeless and no plan can do much for them. *But the next generation can be saved*, and that is the sum total of my interest in revitalizing the entire farm problem from the ground up. If we don't do something very worth while the next generation will have a larger percentage of "worthless, landless, penniless, spiritless, spineless," individuals than are to be found in the present one.

The principle of democratic procedure is all-important. The whole co-operative movement in Denmark has been by the independent, voluntary activity of the farmers themselves. While the conditions with us are quite different from what they were in Denmark seventy-five years ago, if we are to save ourselves in America, solid planning and work and constant watchfulness must come from the grass-roots of our rural life. Secretary Wallace says: "As long as the community co-operative spirit is not behind them [consumers' co-operatives] they are not so greatly different from such old line business organizations as are willing to pro-rate back part of their profits in order to retain their customers. Most of our farm co-operatives . . . tend to be somewhat similar to established American business in the respective lines."¹

If the American farmer, through consumers' and marketing co-operatives, can follow the products of his labor to the ultimate consumer there should be little need of restrictive quotas and price-fixing. Using Denmark again as a basis of comparison, the middleman in that country has been practically eliminated from the scene so that the consumer gets ninety-five cents worth of consumers' goods for his dollar. Compare that with the United States for June, 1932. " . . . For ten products combined—beef, pork, hens, butter, cheese, potatoes, flour, bread, eggs, milk—the processors, distributors, and other food handlers . . . took in June, 1932, 68.8 cents of the consumers' dollar."²

Obviously, if the farmer has to attend meetings and carry on the farmers' business, act as middleman, processor, as well as producer, act on boards of directors, and the like, he is going to get a wide experience in attending to the farmers' business, which is all to the good. But

¹ Henry A. Wallace, *Whose Constitution?* (New York, 1936), p. 290.

² USDA BAE Report for June, 1936, p. 10.

until that experience is possible for a large number and until the purchasing power of other elements in our population can be raised, the National Agricultural Corporation should be called into play to bridge the gap between the farmer's minimum needs and his gross income.

Let us consider the case of John Doe, age thirty, married, with a wife and four children. Because of circumstances over which he has had no control we find him in 1938 reduced to the status of a sharecropper. He is a competent farmer but finds himself cultivating land of diminishing fertility. He has moved twice in three years. The owner of his new place lives in the city and doesn't care a lot about the farm except as a source of income. He won't spend a lot of money in rehabilitating the soil, and neither will John Doe, consequently we may reasonably expect that within a period of twenty years at least one-half of his present farm will have to be taken out of cultivation as submarginal. John Doe's children are growing and they need access to good schools, opportunities for relaxation and social growth, the chance to grow socially, mentally, and culturally. But John Doe moves to a different farm every second year, or perhaps every year. His cash income is \$220 a year, with the prospects a little better than even that it will not increase nearly so rapidly as the needs of his growing family. The wife and mother has become a household drudge with few or no mechanical gadgets to help her. She is becoming lined and prematurely worn and gray.

The two older children are girls. Their education at best will be of an indifferent sort, their religion neglected, and they become socially starved. Somewhere between the ages of sixteen and twenty one of them will get married to a village clerk with an income of \$20 a week, and the other one will drift to the city to join the ever-increasing army of job-hunters or part-time, underpaid workers. The boys will never have an interest in farming, or it will be killed by the drives of poverty and want they see all about them, but not having had any opportunity to secure a technical education or learn a skilled trade, their lot is a gloomy one. One possibly will get married to a farm girl and join the ranks of sharecroppers, and the other will accept some sort of government relief in the city. Thus in one generation all the cultural vitality and the potentialities of successful citizens will be lost to the nation. John Doe will have succeeded merely in perpetuating his poverty in kind, so far as American rural life is concerned, and he will have added a like burden to the increasing masses of underprivileged urban population. He will die some years before his wife does, leaving her penniless and alone.

This picture is not overdrawn, and it can be multiplied more than three million times in the United States today, for nearly half of the more than six and a quarter million rural farm families, at least in the better agricultural regions, are tenants and sharecroppers. According to the 1935 Agriculture Census the percentage of farms operated by tenants in a few of the states are as follows:

Kansas	44.0	Illinois	44.5
Mississippi	69.8	Nebraska	49.3
Iowa	49.6	So. Dakota	48.6
Georgia	65.9	Alabama	63.0

Now let us look at John Doe in different circumstances. In 1938 he was given an opportunity through the National Agricultural Corporation to purchase a farm and to borrow money enough to equip it properly, plus enough to build a modern home. According to the rules of the Corporation he knows he can secure the money for a period of 40 years at a rate of interest determined by the cost of administration but never exceeding 4 per cent. For the first five years he will not have to pay anything on either principal or interest. He knows that he can build a modern home at once and have a central heating plant, landscaping, electricity. He can find a building site out on the improved road near the homes of a couple of neighbors who are beginning a new life like himself. He knows he can begin to diversify his crops and that he will not be left to his own devices about such things as soil conservation, fertilizers, marketing, credit, etc. He knows also that when he dies, leaving a family behind him, all further payments on the farm will be cancelled and that his wife will have a home as long as she and the children live.

One of the sons, or both, or a son-in-law, may take over the obligations, assume proprietorship, and maintain the homestead. He knows that no one will ever be able to foreclose for debt, for he cannot borrow money on the farm's security, and taxes are assessed on yearly production instead of on improvements or unearned increments. Of course he won't be able to sell the farm home the very first time some war scare blows up, or some real estate agent sees a chance for commission. If he ever wants to sell, it will be back to the Corporation for exactly what he paid for it plus improvements.

Most important, for the first time in his life he has basic security for himself and family with an assured fundamental stability for the future. He can now plan a life's work and the enjoyment of a well-supported

home. He can now give attention to creating better cultural advantages for his children, more leisure for his wife, better community life—first class schools, churches, and a more normal social life.

What would it mean to the United States to be able to multiply that picture by three million by the end of this generation? How much is the opposite picture costing in misery, lowered income, relief, and decayed humanity? Both are incalculable.

Fortunately we have at hand rich evidence of the success of agricultural regeneration. More than half a century ago Denmark launched a vigorous assault upon her stubborn farm problem and has ever since followed the policy of aiding the small farmer to become stabilized.⁸ In that country as well as in some other Scandinavian countries, a complete renaissance has taken place which has touched every phase of Danish life—social, economic, religious, political.

In the beginning of the struggle more than 90 per cent of the farmers of Denmark were tenants; today less than 5 per cent of them are non-owners. It has paid Denmark rich rewards. Of all farms in that country 85 per cent are supplied with electricity; in the United States less than 12 per cent are so supplied.

Admittedly any plan such as is proposed here would require a considerable initial outlay of money and effort on the part of the Government, but eventually every cent of cash advance would be returned to the Government. Even if considerable loss should be sustained, would it be as great as the loss we sustain annually in the millions wasted in futile experiments with crop loans, restrictive programs, and the like, which aid the owners of large fertile tracts but penalize the renters and sharecroppers? Or in the enormous loss in top soil by erosion? Or, most important of all, in the deterioration of rural-farm life and the degredation of the human element?

Again, can we afford the cost of not doing it?

There is plenty of evidence on every hand to warn us that if we allow the present trends to continue another generation or two, we won't have enough rural vitality left to generate any sort of solution. The basic unit of civilization is the family, and basic social values can arise only out of a stabilized and spiritually enriched family life.

We are beginning to realize that the American farm problem is not an accumulation of six and a quarter million individual problems; it is one national problem and must be dealt with as such. It is not a problem

⁸ Josephine Goldmark, *Democracy in Denmark* (Washington, 1936), p. 10.

primarily of how much shall be produced in a single year; it is not a problem merely of resettling a few thousand destitute farm families each year; it is not one primarily of landownership versus sharecroppers. It must be one of nationwide effort to recreate and stabilize the all-important human values that can arise only out of an economically and socially stable farm life.

If we are to secure these important solutions and conditions for rural-farm life in the United States we must conserve the cream of the crop of young men and women who are now drifting to the white lights in search of some imaginary advantage, advantages which can be provided in abundance in a rich rural life.

The solution of this major problem in our present-day civilization will go far toward laying the ground work for the solution of problems of urban congestion. And no price is too high to pay for these solutions.

Notes

DOES INCREASING URBANIZATION OF THE RURAL AREAS REQUIRE A RE-EXAMINATION OF SOME OF OUR BASIC POSTULATES?

All rural sociologists agree that rural society is characterized by primary group contacts with their resulting intimacy and knowledge of one's neighbor's affairs, as contrasted with urban society which is characterized by secondary group contacts and personal anonymity. It is true that nearly all writers have commented on the breakdown of the rural neighborhood and the growth of interest groups, but most rural research has nevertheless implied this differentiation between the urban and rural. A recent house-to-house check of some Minnesota areas previously covered by a mail questionnaire has raised a question as to the validity of this assumption. Each farmer was asked for population changes on his own farm and also on the farms of his neighbors.

In making this check six or eight returned schedules were selected at random within each of three sample counties, and the farm reporter who returned each schedule was visited. He was first asked whether or not he would change the original schedules after thinking it over, and then was asked which farms he reported on. These other farms were then visited and the same information obtained directly from the neighbors in the manner called for on the original schedule submitted by our correspondent. Finally, the results of the house-to-house census were compared with the original schedules.

Many correspondents were quite vague as to the changes in hired help on adjacent farms, or even as to the presence or absence of this help. In the case of tenant neighbors or "reliefers" they were often uncertain as to the total number of children.

The results of the house-to-house check of the reports of 20 correspondents in three widely separated counties showed inaccuracies in these reports. In only 4 out of the 20 cases did the correspondent report the same total number of persons as were found on a house-to-house census. The cumulative difference is not large, but individual cases show an astonishing variance. These 20 correspondents reported a total of 618 persons on their own or adjacent farms; a census revealed 633 persons. But one correspondent reported 16 persons on five farms which by census count had 21, another 26 persons on six farms which by count had 33 persons. Furthermore, comings and goings of grown children of neighbors were often omitted.

The number of cases involved is small, but the results were so surprisingly consistent all over the state as to raise the question Is the rural neighborhood as a primary group disintegrating at a much faster pace than is ordinarily assumed?

If this hypothesis were verified it would give rise to many interesting problems both in the field of research and in the field of rural organization. For example,

for a number of years social workers have been attacking the idea that local administrators of relief were desirable because of their knowledge of their neighbors. They have repeatedly urged that this knowledge of the local people is often incomplete or even totally fallacious. May it not be that modern transportation and communication facilities have gone far along the way toward giving the farm family much of the anonymity of the city family? May not the intrusion of new nonfarm occupied groups, a growing tenancy system, and a new class of people dependent on public funds be introducing a degree of rural stratification that is hastening the breakup of the neighborhood?

Virginia Polytechnic Institute

C. R. WASSON

BROADWAY'S PICTURE OF RURAL AMERICA

It has sometimes been remarked that New Yorkers are the most provincial people in the world. Whatever the truth of this statement, it is certainly true that the notions of rural America that New Yorkers derive from the popular plays of Broadway are fantastic in the extreme. Naturally their attitudes come from many sources, but the vividness of dramatic presentation makes the play peculiarly important. Rural sociologists may be interested in knowing the type of rural plays that have received the most enthusiastic support from New York theatregoers. The notes that follow are based entirely upon the outstandingly popular plays of the postwar years—plays that have run for at least six months on Broadway. The total audience that has witnessed each of these plays has probably ranged from something in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand to several millions. All the popular plays of the period have been examined in order to avoid presenting a distorted picture.

Social attitudes regarding rural life derive from many sources. Novels, movies, and short stories help to build up the average person's usually inaccurate views. The importance of the popular play as a source of rural attitudes derives not alone from its vividness but from the wide audience it reaches. Frequently it is made into a movie, used as a radio skit, and commented upon in syndicated newspaper columns, thus reaching a mass audience. The popular play is also used extensively by amateur theatre groups in all parts of the country and by the increasingly popular summer theatres. In printed form the plays are widely read.

The regular theatregoer of the past twenty years has had deposited in his mind layer after layer of material relating to rural life in various parts of these United States. This material is here reviewed with the title indicated of the play from which it comes. New England, for example, seems to be inhabited by the repulsive Puritans who have so much trouble with their sex life. Even in the days of the American Revolution a Puritan minister objected to *bundling*, that innocent pastime by which a young couple withstands the rigors of winter by getting in bed together (*The Pursuit of Happiness*). In those days the New Englanders were most cruel to the illegitimate child (*The Devil's Disciple*). The farms of the area are bleak, sometimes being inhabited by flinty old men who are hated by their children. It may be that after the mother has died from the heavy

farm work the old father will marry a young woman who will become the mother of a child by her stepson. Later she will kill this child to prove to the stepson that she loves him (*Desire under the Elms*). Part of New England is inhabited by the strange and violent Portuguese. When the Portuguese son is going wrong, and in fact steals a necklace so that he may go on the stage with a worthless city flapper, his mother uses strong-arm methods. She drugs the boy and has him put aboard a sailing vessel that will not touch port for a long, long time (*My Son*).

The southwestern part of the United States is the area where the theatregoers expect to find the desperadoes. A modern Robin Hood will kill and rob to smooth the way for young love, and after he has the charming young couple headed for the altar, this desperado will go on his way, happy in a day's work well done (*The Bad Man*). In the bright Arizona sunshine one may find strange people: Pittsburghers who have come out to die, but who are really so powerful they can down the best of the natives; wandering novelists who beg gangsters to turn the machine gun on them so that the newly met girl friend may get the insurance money; eastern bankers too stingy to lend a stranded motorist a gallon of gas; super-patriotic American Legionnaires; and, of course, plenty of gangsters (*The Petrified Forest*, *The Nervous Wreck*).

The greater part of California seems to be filled with the frantic addleheaded folk of Hollywood, and that is hardly rural (*Merton of the Movies*, *Once in a Lifetime*, *Boy Meets Girl*). There are also some farmers, particularly an old Italian farmer. He gets his wife by the correspondence method and she becomes pregnant by the hired man of the old farmer, but all ends happily when the Italian forgives this irregularity (*They Knew What They Wanted*).

The old South is often touched upon in the theatre. Here the Negro who varies in the slightest degree from the required pattern of his race is frequently lynched or shoots himself before the lynch mob arrives, but before reaching his own violent end usually kills the white man who has wronged him (*In Abraham's Bosom*, *Mulatto*). The religion of these Negroes is a naïve, poetic and anthropomorphic version of Christianity (*The Green Pastures*). In the South there are also the white sharecroppers who live along Tobacco Road. When the grandma of the sharecropper's family fails to return from the woods no one bothers to go out and look for her—not even the feeble-minded son nor the harelippped daughter. Courtship among these degenerate folk consists of horseing, in which the young couple sit back to back on the ground and rub their shoulders together. The family income derives from petty thieving, and religious instruction is given by a former prostitute. Marriage is by wife purchase, but sometimes the contract fails to hold even though as much as seven dollars changes hands in the transaction. The mother may wish to save her favorite daughter from marriage for the glorious life of a mill-hand in Augusta. (The father of this favorite daughter was never married to her mother.) (*Tobacco Road*).

In the mountains of the old South live the moonshiners who regard the "revinooers" as legitimate game. But when the mountain boy goes to the World War and is killed, his spirit returns to counsel his mother not to kill the son of the very "revinooer" that had killed Pappy (*Sun Up*). A young girl is some-

times betrayed in the mountains. When the same man who had ruined mother also ruins her daughter, the mother takes an old potato knife and kills him (*The Shame Woman*).

Scattered about in rural America there seem to be many wayside inns and tourists' stopping places where crime and other strange doings abound. Here kid-nappers stay with the infant they hold for ransom, and here the strangely deluded insane add many complications to life—and death. One also observes the movie queen whose imported car has broken down and who must stop overnight at a tourist establishment. She likes the filling station attendant and plans to take him back to Hollywood with her, but in this case virtue triumphs and the local girl keeps her man (*The Tavern, Post Road, Personal Appearance*).

One may grow wealthy, one learns in the theatre, from rural America. Oil wells offer such excellent possibilities that occasionally oil stock purchased from a swindler will bring in a gusher and a flood of easy money (*The Potters*). Wealth may also be acquired by inventing a cure for hog cholera, buying up infected pigs and curing them. Of course one needs a little capital even for such a promising venture, but this may be acquired by the girl friend through a bit of blackmail (*Pigs*). One may also gain financial aid for a great invention by being kind to the persecuted stranger who chances to be in the village (*Welcome Stranger*). Murder and robbery are also avenues to wealth (*The Bad Man*); allowing an eccentric artist to live in the barn is another. After the artist dies his paintings will prove priceless, but it is important to see that the maid does not become his common-law wife. In this case she will have title to all the paintings (*The Late Christopher Bean*).

The American village, to the individual addicted to popular plays, is a strangely contradictory locale. On the one hand it is filled with murders, suicides, electrocutions and ex-convicts (*Coquette, An American Tragedy, One Sunday Afternoon*); on the other hand it is the dull abode of mean-spirited people. Here the congregation will not pay the minister adequately unless forced to do so, the village banker is a hypocrite who profits from bootlegging, the village doctor is the soul of avarice who tries to cheat his servant of her sudden wealth, the village dentist has served a sentence for threatening his employer with a pistol, and the only heroic figure seems to be the village drunkard (*Thank You, The Old Soak, The Late Christopher Bean, One Sunday Afternoon*).

When the village meets the city, either individually or en masse, the village generally loses. Sometimes the traveling card shark gathers up all the loose change. (Naturally, he pays off the widow's mortgage before he moves on.) When there is an oil boom in the village it is the visiting lawyer who takes charge of things, downs the local crooks, and marries the only girl. But sometimes the small town man triumphs over the city slicker, buys out the Broadway show which immediately becomes a tremendous hit and brings him wealth and happiness. (*Alias the Deacon, The Meanest Man in the World, The Butter and Egg Man*).

One final question may be raised. In the years since the World War, has the picture of rural America presented on Broadway undergone any significant

change? And the answer must be Yes. Most of the extreme caricatures were offered before 1927. And at the end of the period *Tobacco Road* made its appearance and is still on Broadway as these lines are written. This play—with all its absurd extravaganza as to characters and unconvincing melodrama as to situations—does touch on some of the real social problems of rural life. Isolation is apparent, as is depletion of the soil through neglect, and the poverty that naturally accompanies these. For many Broadwayites the sharecropper's existence dates from *Tobacco Road*. Of course, only the most naïve could accept the final situation of the play wherein the dying mother uses her last ounce of strength to bite her husband's hand to secure the freedom of her daughter!

In general it may be said that the Broadway theatregoer has acquired many facts about rural life that are not so and has taken over many attitudes that in the light of the real facts are highly absurd.

University of Pennsylvania

HUGH CARTER

Current Bulletins

Charles P. Loomis, Editor

LEVELS OF LIVING

" . . . the level of family income and the size of the family are the chief determinants of" *The Worker's Standard of Living*.¹ An International Labor Office publication, which analyzes workers' food, housing, health, and literacy in the United States, Poland, India, and Japan, and discusses the theoretical and practical means of obtaining indices of the standards of living of workers, concludes that "the intensity of poverty at the lower income levels is greatest since the largest families are found consistently in the lower per unit income groups." Using data supplied by the United States Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Home Economics, it was calculated that only 27 per cent of the croppers on farms in the Southeast were well nourished. It was estimated that if Warsaw workers allocated 50 per cent of their expenditure for food, only 29 per cent of the families in the working class districts would have incomes sufficient to purchase adequate diets. Diet surveys of agricultural and nonagricultural families in India indicate that only a few families in higher income brackets are adequately nourished. A recommended well-balanced diet which falls far below dietary standards in the Western World is of little practical value in India. There are "many parts of India" in which "it would be hard to find a worker whose diet reaches it." A study of almost a thousand wage earners' families in ten Japanese cities indicates that only under maximum conditions of efficient preparation and choice could 75 per cent of the families escape being undernourished on their present incomes.

"Six million non-farm homes and five million farm homes in the United States, or over a third of all the homes of the nation are estimated to be definitely sub-standard" i.e., they do not furnish each occupying family with running water, with indoor flush toilet for exclusive use, with bathtub or shower, or with a sewer in case the community is built up. In Poland, 45 per cent of all urban dwellings and 72 per cent of one-room urban dwellings were overcrowded, i.e., had more than two persons per room. Ninety per cent of the urban and most rural dwellings lacked the combination of sewer connections, running water, electricity and gas. In Bombay, 33 per cent of the population lives in rooms occupied by five persons at a time, and one per cent, or 15,000 persons, live in rooms occupied by twenty or more persons at a time. "Only four per cent of the population live in conditions which insure privacy and domestic seclusion." In the rural areas conditions are little better.

¹ *The Worker's Standard of Living*, International Labour Office Studies and Reports B-30 (Geneva, 1938). 101 pp.

Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties,² based upon field interviews with 733 open-country farm families and 83 village non-farm families in two Kentucky counties of the Northeastern Cumberland Plateau and in two North Carolina counties of the Blue Ridge subregion of the Appalachians, presents the following findings and makes comparisons with previous studies of family living in the area:

1. The average values of living, including the values of all goods and services consumed, were \$662, \$426, and \$798 per family for open-country owners, open-country tenants, and village families; per capita, they were \$143, \$87, and \$210. Few studies of farm families have indicated such low values.
2. Less than onehalf of the value of living for the farm families was purchased; 83 per cent of that for the village families was purchased.
3. The open-country families produced relatively large proportions of their food on the farms. The owners produced 76 per cent; the tenants, 68 per cent.
4. Considered together, expenditures for social participation, education, and reading absorbed \$20, \$4, and \$36 respectively from the total expenditures of open-country owners and tenants and village families.
5. The open-country families derived only 36 per cent of their total cash receipts from the sale of farm products. Thirty-five per cent accrued from wages.
6. Of the male heads of 724 open-country families giving farming as their chief occupation in 1935, the year of the study, 200, or 28 per cent, were not farming in 1930. One half of these new farmers had been unskilled, semiskilled, and skilled laborers; 17 per cent had been farm laborers; 20 per cent had not been gainfully employed; and the remainder were professional men, clerks, and proprietors.
7. Indications are that the new farmers were frequently recruited from persons reporting no change of dwelling from 1930 to 1935. Loss of nonfarm employment caused many of these individuals to report themselves as farmers. This explains in part why census figures exaggerate the back-to-the-land movement.
8. Open-country owner and tenant and village male heads had completed 6.4, 5.2, and 6.8 school grades respectively. The amount of education is positively correlated with total value of family living.

*The Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities*³ have been studied with the view to establishing a starting point from which future attainments may be measured. The resettlement projects studied were Penderlea Homesteads in North Carolina, Cumberland Homesteads in Tennessee, Ashwood Plantation in South Carolina, Skyline Farms in Alabama, Dyess Colony in Arkansas, Ropesville Farms in Texas, and Bosque Farms in New Mexico.

² C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, USDA SRR X (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 59 pp.

³ C. P. Loomis and Dwight M. Davidson, Jr., *Standards of Living of the Residents of Seven Rural Resettlement Communities*, USDA SRR XI (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 93 pp.

1. Inasmuch as most of the projects were comparatively new, farm operations were limited. However, families living on projects furnished 43 per cent of the total family living as compared with 44 per cent for the families studied prior to resettlement.

2. The cash incomes of families living on the projects averaged \$843, while the average cash receipts of the families studied previous to resettlement were \$586. Families living on the projects received 39 per cent of the total cash receipts from wages—principally from employment at construction work on the various projects—and 35 per cent in the form of loans from the government. Families studied previous to resettlement received 26 per cent of the total cash receipts from the sale of farm products and 47 per cent from wages of the male head or other members of the family.

3. The average amount of investment other than farm for the families living on the project was \$16, and for the families studied previous to resettlement, \$7.

4. The average number of school grades completed by the male heads ranged from 4.3 for those at Cumberland Farms to 9.7 for those at Ropesville.

5. Among the groups living on the projects there was a great variation in the total value of living, ranging from \$532 to \$1,078 for Cumberland Farms and Bosque, respectively. Among the families studied previous to resettlement the range was more limited—from \$667 for Dyess to \$928 for Penderlea.

Accounts kept by 1,618 households for two months in the Union of South Africa form the basis for an *Inquiry into Expenditures of European Families in Certain Urban Areas, 1936*.⁴ Analysis indicated that the higher the incomes the less the proportion of the total expended for the items: food, fuel and light, rent, and rates (for water and the like). With the exception of clothing, for which equal proportions of the budget in the various income brackets were expended, practically all other items demonstrated the reverse tendency; that is, the higher the income the larger the proportions of the budget expended.

On the basis of a Bureau of Home Economics study of family expenditures, it is estimated that the average farm family in the United States spends \$51, or 8 per cent of its total family budget, for medical care, medicines, and drugs.⁵ By regions farm families in the East South Central spent least (\$44), those in the Pacific states most (\$74). Although there is little proof that rural people have less need for medical services than do urban people, "it appears that urban areas have roughly double the per capita medical facilities that rural areas have." This is especially true of available physicians, dentists, registered optometrists, nurses, and hospitals. Prices for the various medical fees have been compiled and index numbers for 1910-14, 1924-29, 1932, and 1935-36 have been constructed. The data are based primarily on mailed questionnaires sent to physicians, dentists, and "oculists and optometrists" in 200 counties in nineteen states.

⁴ *Report on the Inquiry into the Expenditure of European Families in Certain Urban Areas, 1936*, Minister of the Interior, Union of South Africa (Pretoria, 1937). 83 pp.

⁵ *Prices Paid by Farmers for Commodities and Services: Medical Service Rates to Farmers, Income Parity for Agriculture, Part III, Section 1* (Washington, August, 1938). Mimeographed, 27 pp.

There exists a high relationship between the quality of agricultural land and levels of living in twenty-nine Michigan counties.⁶ This is demonstrated by rank correlation coefficients between land ratings for counties established by soil experts and standards of living (as calculated from available facilities as reported by the census), retail sales per capita, average value of farm dwellings, percentage of families not on relief, and percentage of children fourteen to seventeen years of age at school, these coefficients being .61, .62, .75, .74 and -.03 respectively. The proportion of children in secondary school is not closely related to other indices of the level of living or to the quality of the soil. This is to be explained by the difference in the value which the various groups, especially nationality groups, place upon attaining advanced education. To a well-to-do German farmer it may be more important that his son start life for himself on a good farm than that he possess a high school education.

Total living earnings on 194 small Puerto Rican tobacco farms consisted of \$396, of which \$221 was cash and the remainder furnished.⁷ Not including income from labor off the farm, the cash labor income of these families of 7.9 members was 80c per day.

FARM LABOR AND MECHANIZATION

The amount of *Seasonal Employment in Agriculture*⁸ for both family and hired labor for the type of farming areas as well as for the nation as a whole is presented in graphic form by months in a Works Progress Administration report. In addition graphic descriptions of monthly employment by type of work on typical farms is included. Basis for the publication are Census and United States Department of Agriculture reports. Facts of interest are the following: The 1935 census reports that approximately 1,645,602 hired workers were employed on farms during January. In August of the same year there were 2,752,883, an increase of 1,107,281 workers. Forty per cent of the laborers working in August were employed on farms on which there was only one hired man. Of 11,000,000 persons employed on farms in 1935, 78 per cent were operators or members of operators' families and 22 per cent were hired wage workers. Farming is "essentially a family business" but one characterized by high seasonality of employment. Agricultural employment for the nation is at its height in July and October for hired labor, and June and October for family labor. During winter months both hired and family labor is at its lowest ebb.

*Trends in Employment in Agriculture 1909-36*⁹ have been downward as indi-

⁶ Harold A. Gibbard, *Agricultural Land Ratings and the Farmers' Levels of Living*, Michigan State College AES Quarterly Bulletin XX (East Lansing, February, 1938), pp. 127-94.

⁷ Jorge J. Serrallés, Jr., R. Colón Torres, and Frank J. Juliá, *Analysis of the Organization and Factors Influencing the Returns on 194 Small Tobacco Farms in Puerto Rico, 1935-1936*, University of Puerto Rico AESB 46 (San Juan, March, 1938). 50 pp.

⁸ Benjamin J. Free, *Seasonal Employment in Agriculture*, WPA (Washington, September, 1938). 58 pp.

⁹ Eldon E. Shaw and John A. Hopkins, *Trends in Employment in Agriculture 1909-36*, WPAB A-8 (Philadelphia, November, 1938). 163 pp.

cated by a nine per cent decline for family workers and thirteen per cent decline for hired laborers. However, output per person engaged in agriculture increased over onethird during the period. The influence of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration and the drought decreased the output per person in 1936, but during the period as a whole greatest gains in output per person were in areas where the rates of mechanization were greatest and where the number of horses declined most. Written exposition and graphic description of trends as well as seasonal variations for types of farming areas and the nation are presented.

*Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops*¹⁰ for the 1935-36 crop year have been estimated by counties on a monthly basis. From field investigations seasonal labor requirements for, and extent of, various crops were calculated and used in estimating labor demands in terms of man days as well as number of workers. The peak period of employment of seasonal workers is August through October during which relatively two and one half times as many man days is required as in the low period, November through April. Labor requirements are lowest in March and highest in September. Estimates indicate that during March 48,000, and during September 145,000, workers of average efficiency are required.

"The rate and the magnitude of the recent mechanization of agriculture in this country are, to put it mildly, beyond the imagination and comprehension of the average man."¹¹ During 1937 more tractors were sold for domestic use than were on farms in 1920. The greatest degree of mechanization has been attained in the North Central States, but the highest rates of increase in mechanization are at the present time to be found in the South where Mississippi leads, and in the Southwest where Texas has more tractors than all eight Old South cotton states combined. Few areas are not affected by this increased mechanization which not only deprives many farm laborers of employment, displaces tenants and even owners, but threatens the family farm. That "we can develop some efficient and stable institutions which will control the machine and give us the same social and human values which are enjoyed under a more simple agrarian organization" seems improbable.

RURAL RELIEF AND REHABILITATION

*An Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families*¹² is based upon records of 30,000 Federal Emergency Relief Administration clients who were considered for rehabilitation in 1934; records of 20,000 applicants for rehabilitation in Arkansas in 1935; 16,200 farm plans of rehabilitation clients in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Wyoming, Montana, and Colorado for 1936; and approximately 3,000 questionnaires containing information relative to progress and plans of rehabilitation families living in eight widely separated types of farming areas

¹⁰ R. L. Adams, *Seasonal Labor Requirements for California Crops*, California AESB 623 (Berkeley, July, 1938). 28 pp.

¹¹ C. Horace Hamilton, *The Social Effects of Recent Trends in Mechanization of Agriculture*, Texas AESB 579 (College Station, December, 1938). Mimeographed, 14 pp.

¹² E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Analysis of 70,000 Rural Rehabilitation Families*, USDA SRR IX (Washington, August, 1938). Mimeographed, 93 pp.

in 1936. These separate analyses indicate that the rehabilitation clients were for the most part middle-aged tenant farmers who had relatively high mobility, low educational status, large families, and were living "on economic levels that are below the minimum for decent standards of living." However, the data indicate "a likelihood that the program may perhaps veer in the direction of neglecting too many families at extremely low levels for preferences among those above them. The latter generally are better prospects for meeting loan obligations and more responsive to supervision, but they may be less in need than some of the others."

*Relief in Rural Iowa*¹³ from October, 1936, to October, 1937, tended to fluctuate narrowly around the present level. Data from nine samples indicated that during this period county care cases did not change greatly. Excluding Works Progress Administration cases, unemployment relief decreased approximately one third, but persons receiving old age assistance increased approximately 40 per cent. For the period 1932-36 the ten counties in the state having large cities expended over \$40 per person for relief as compared with approximately \$20 in the nine "rural and small city" sample counties. Also for the state as a whole counties with large urban populations expended more per capita for relief than the more rural counties, a condition different from that in some states with poorer farm land. The increase in relief expenditures from 1920 to 1937 is presented graphically with an account of the changes in administering agencies.

*Magnitude of the Emergency Relief Program in Rural Virginia 1933-1935*¹⁴ in terms of per cent of the population on relief was less than any other states except Vermont and Delaware. From July, 1934, through June, 1935, Delaware had the smallest (7.1) and South Dakota the largest (36.6) proportion of their total population on relief. These percentages for Iowa and Virginia were 10.7 and 8.6 respectively. Notwithstanding the fact that per capita farm income for Virginia (\$162) in 1930 was less than one half that for the nation (\$309) and annual manufacturing industrial wages for Virginia (\$818) less than three fifths those for the nation (\$1,425), for the period under consideration only seven per cent of the Virginia population as compared with thirteen per cent of the population of the nation was on relief. During January, 1935, the average monthly relief benefits per relief family in Virginia (\$14) were less than half those of the nation (\$30). In June, 1935, one person in nine was on relief in Virginia towns and cities as compared with one in thirteen in rural areas.

Up to October 1, 1937, a total of 1,566 surveys and studies have been completed by Works Progress Administration employees.¹⁵ "More than 539 of these

¹³ R. E. Wakeley and A. H. Anderson, *Relief in Rural Iowa*, Iowa AESB 377 (Ames, September, 1938). 42 pp.

¹⁴ B. L. Hummel and C. G. Bennett, *Magnitude of the Emergency Relief Program in Rural Virginia, 1933-1935*, Virginia WPAB (Rural Relief Series) 1 (Blacksburg, November, 1937). Mimeographed, 88 pp.

¹⁵ *Inventory—An Appraisal of Results of the Works Progress Administration* (Washington, Spring, 1933). 100 pp.

were planning surveys for designated planning agencies. The bulk of them were local in scope, although about one fifth were State-wide and several Nation-wide. The remaining 1,027 research and statistical studies were mainly local in character. . . ."

RURAL YOUTH

A report¹⁶ by the Works Progress Administration summarizes the available data on rural youth and supplements them with an evaluation of the situation and prospects for the future. "The long-time rural youth problem is that of an excess in numbers in relation to a dearth of rural opportunities, a situation which becomes greatly aggravated during 'hard times.'" It is expected that there will be between 500,000 and 600,000 more rural-farm youth and 500,000 more rural-nonfarm youth in 1940 than in 1930. "The [economic] alternatives presented to underprivileged farm youth appear to be three—to remain in the country at a low level of living, to go to the cities to compete for jobs at very low wages, or, if their need is sufficiently great, to obtain jobs provided by one of the governmental agencies. There is no longer new acreage to be opened up, and much hitherto cultivated land is no longer profitable." Other handicaps confronting rural youth in the selection of occupation are inadequacy of rural educational facilities and lack of vocational guidance. "The extent to which youth participate in social organizations apparently depends largely on their economic status and educational attainments." The lack of recreational activities is particularly acute in poor land areas. The report lists some of the more important governmental and nongovernmental agencies attempting to aid in solving the problems of rural youth, and recommendations are made for future programs.

A study "undertaken for the purpose of securing information which might be helpful to the South Carolina Extension Service in providing plans for a more desirable extension program to meet the needs of unmarried rural young people 16 to 25 years of age" reveals that 97 per cent of the 638 young people interviewed would like to belong to a group to consider matters of common interest.¹⁷ Nine out of ten expressed a preference for meetings participated in by both young men and young women. The need for a more adequate extension program for out-of-school youth was emphasized by the fact that only 22 per cent of those interviewed were members of any organization other than church organizations and only 19 per cent were associated with the extension service. The data indicated that discussions of agriculture, homemaking, and vocational guidance and placement were particularly needed by the out-of-school young people, but that there was also a demand for a broader program to interest the 45 per cent whose choice of a vocation was one other than farming or homemaking.

¹⁶ Bruce L. Melvin and Elna N. Smith, *Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects*, WPA RM XV (Washington, 1938). 167 pp.

¹⁷ Dan Lewis, Barnard D. Joy, and Theo Vaughan, *Situations, Problems, and Interests of Unmarried Rural Young People 16-25 Years of Age: South Carolina*, USDA Extension Service Circular 293 (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 37 pp. See *Rural Sociology* III (December, 1938), 452-53, for reviews of five other publications in this series relating to Connecticut, Iowa, Maryland, Oregon, and Utah.

A bulletin of the American Youth Commission¹⁸ treats the subject of vocational training for older rural youth, the purpose of which is to bridge the gap between adolescence and adulthood. Several different types of programs now in operation are described.

Trends in the development of short courses in Land Grant Colleges are discussed in an American Youth Commission bulletin.¹⁹ "Although there has been a decline in the total number of colleges offering short courses over the past quarter century (the number 46 in 1923 has dropped to 28 at the present time), those which have been maintained or revamped are filling a real need." Short courses in a number of colleges of agriculture are described.

POPULATION MOBILITY AND SUBURBANIZATION

The second bulletin in the series of *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut, Norwich: An Industrial Part-time Farming Area*²⁰ is based upon historical records and a house-to-house survey of 925 families made in 1935 and 1936. The survey data indicates that three out of every five householders moved to the area at some time subsequent to marriage. About three fifths of these newcomers settled in villages and two fifths in open country districts. Over one half of the families moving to rural Norwich since 1920 gave economic reasons for moving, the most important of these being to obtain employment in local industries, to do part-time farming, and to take advantage of cheaper rent or taxes. Many also indicated that they had young children and desired to get out of the city where there would be more room.

About one half of those who moved to the area were doing some farming. In this study of Norwich, as in the earlier study of Windsor, the more recent the arrivals the more frequently they were participants in this back-to-the-land movement. Families in that phase of the family-life cycle during which there were older children more often did some farming than did childless couples or couples with very young children.

Housing facilities of families migrating to rural Norwich were improved. The houses to which the migrants moved were relatively more spacious, possessed more modern conveniences, were more frequently single detached houses and were more frequently owned by the residents than the homes from which the families migrated.

Special analysis of social participation of the suburbanites indicated that while nine out of ten families held membership in some church, few belonged to other organizations. In general the families having memberships in the largest number of organizations had the highest educational and occupational status, and more

¹⁸ Agnes M. Boynton and E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Vocational Training for Older Rural Youth*, AYC (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 60 pp.

¹⁹ E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Short Courses in Colleges of Agriculture*, AYC (Washington, November, 1938). Mimeographed, 39 pp.

²⁰ N. L. Whetten and R. F. Field, *Studies of Suburbanization in Connecticut, 2. Norwich: An Industrial Part-Time Farming Area*, Connecticut AESB 226 (Storrs, May, 1938). 121 pp.

frequently owned their homes, subscribed for local newspapers, and had lived a considerable time in the neighborhood.

*Differential Mobility Within the Rural Population in 18 Iowa Townships, 1928 to 1935*²¹ is the title of a study based upon field interviews with 2,384 village and open country households. Among the significant findings reported are the following:

1. Young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five years made relatively more shifts from rural areas to other rural or to urban areas than did other persons.
2. Although young men migrated farther from home than did young women, both groups moved short distances, and in most instances located in Iowa or in adjacent states. Young women left home earlier than men.
3. A smaller proportion of young people whose highest educational attainment was high school left home than did either those who had entered college or those who failed to enter high school.
4. There was a tendency for families to live exclusively either in the village or in the country. During the seven-year period over 90 per cent of the open country families had lived in the open country only, and 83 per cent of the village families had lived in the village only.
5. "Tenure status is the most important single factor associated with mobility of farm households in Iowa. The size of farm and age of farm operator appears to affect mobility only as they are associated with tenure status."
6. The depression delayed but did not stop the youth from leaving the parental home. From the study there was no proof of the existence of a back-to-the-parental-home movement. If there was such, the participants had left home again by 1935.
7. The proportion of offspring leaving the parental home was not related to the relief status of the head of the household.

LAND TENURE AND SOIL CONSERVATION

The "problem of soil conservation is basically one of the people's attitudes toward the land . . . and . . . the various forces obstructing conservation have their roots in the institutions and customs which grew out of the exploitive attitude characteristic of a pioneer economy."²² Tenancy as such does not lead to excessive soil exploitation. Tenants who are related to landlords or tenants with stock-share leases are found to be using conservational land-use patterns similar to those of owners. On the other hand, tenants unrelated to landlords or tenants farming under crop-share leases follow practices which of necessity result in exploitation and soil erosion.

Also "exploitive land use, . . . is both cause and effect of heavy mortgage

²¹ Ray E. Wakeley, *Differential Mobility Within the Rural Population in 18 Iowa Townships, 1928 to 1935*, Iowa AESB 249 (Ames, December, 1938). 318 pp.

²² Rainer Schickele and John P. Himmel, *Socio-Economic Phases of Soil Conservation in the Tarkio Creek Area*, Iowa AESB 241 (Ames, October, 1938). 51 pp.

debts—a cause, since it is partly responsible for the over-valuation and over-encumbrance of the rolling and erodible lands; an effect, because it is the result of current pressure for immediate cash income.”

In general farmers with attitudes favorable to the conservation of the land tend to be operating under conditions allowing for a maximum of stability of tenure. They are not overburdened with debt; and, since farming is to them a way of life, their level of living in terms of housing is relatively high. Those owners who were previously tenants related to landlords climbed to ownership on essentially different ladders. There were fewer rungs symbolic of the farm laborer status and the ascent to ownership was quicker. Slightly less than one fifth of the present tenants had previously achieved ownership but most had been thrown back down the ladder by the depression.

These and other conclusions resulted from a study of *Socio-Economic Phases of Soil Conservation in the Tarkio Creek Area* in southwest Iowa and northwest Missouri. The basis for the study was field interviews and topograph and erosion rating by a single expert.

*Report and Recommendations of the Farm Tenancy Committee*²³ in Iowa has been published in abbreviated form by the Iowa State Planning Board. In condensed form an analysis of 4,000 carefully filled out questionnaires, hearing reports, briefs, and letters resulting from the state and county public hearings are presented.

RURAL ORGANIZATION

*The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*²⁴ in fifteen rural school districts created from 1926 to 1933 in different sections of New York state has been to bring more people “into a closer relationship with the village center, which in turn brings them to buy more of their goods in this center.” Although the reorganization in some instances resulted in increased taxes for rural districts, the added facilities were used by more people and the leavening influence of the new cultural centers has had far-reaching effects. The area of acquaintances of the people has been increased, community spirit has been strengthened, and high school enrollment has increased. The fifteen new central-school districts averaged a population of 1,843 and an area of sixty-five square miles. The study, based upon observation and interviews with community merchants, leaders, and officers, concludes that “the boundaries of the school districts have been selected carefully, and that the central district may easily become an integrated-community area.”

From 1900 to 1935 there was an increase in the number of *Washington Farm Trade Centers*²⁵ amounting to 461. Considering a trade center as any hamlet,

²³ *Report and Recommendations of the Farm Tenancy Committee*, Iowa State Planning Board (Des Moines, October, 1938). 63 pp. The larger report was reviewed in *Rural Sociology* III (December, 1938), 462-3.

²⁴ Eugene T. Stromberg, *The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization*, Cornell AESB 699 (Ithaca, June, 1938). 39 pp.

²⁵ Paul H. Landis, *Washington Farm Trade Centers, 1900-1935*, Washington AESB 360 (Pullman, July, 1938). 39 pp.

village, town, or city which is listed in Dun and Bradstreet's reference book of ratings, it has been found that about 40 per cent of the trade center population of the state lives in unincorporated places of 0-2500 population. Trade centers of from 250 to 2,500 population include only 48 per cent of the rural nonfarm population of the state, a fact which disproves the belief that practically all of the rural nonfarm population lives in such centers. Compared with the United States as a whole, Washington state has a much smaller percentage of its rural nonfarm population living in trade centers; these percentages being 70 and 55 respectively.

During the twentieth century trade center population increased 200 per cent but the number of trade centers increased only 15 per cent. Smaller trade centers are of relatively less importance since the passage of the horse-and-buggy days but 61 per cent of all trade centers in the state had less than five business units. The hamlet still survives.

The President's Advisory Committee on Education²⁶ reports that "the farm population not only has a disproportionately heavy educational load; it must carry the load on a per capita income markedly less than that of the nonfarm population. In 1930 the farm population was responsible for the care and education of 31 per cent of the children, but the farmers received only 9 per cent of the national income. In the Southeastern region this disparity was still greater, the farmers of that region having the care of approximately 4,250,000 children age five to seventeen, with only 2 per cent of the national income. At the other extreme the nonfarm population of the Northeast, with approximately 8,500,000 children age five to seventeen, had 42 per cent of the national income."

Concerning libraries the report states that "most urban areas have some library service available for public use, and in some cities the quality of the available service reaches a high level. In rural areas, however, public-library service is to a large extent not available. It is estimated that the urban areas not served by public libraries have a total population of 5,500,000, whereas the rural areas lacking in public-library service other than that provided by school libraries have a total population of 39,500,000." The committee's report compares the various educational facilities and expenditures by states, and sets forth specific recommendations calculated to improve and equalize educational opportunities.

"The problem of providing complete public library service is essentially a rural problem. Forty million rural people, or 74 per cent of the total rural population of 54,000,000, are without public libraries. On the other hand, 5,500,000 urban people, or 8 per cent of the urban population, have no public libraries. To make the comparison specific, 74 per cent of the rural population of the United States have no local public libraries, as compared with 37 per cent of the total population and 8 per cent of the urban population."²⁷

²⁶ *Report of the Advisory Committee on Education, Message from the President of the United States* (Washington, February, 1938). 148 pp.

²⁷ Carleton B. Joeckel, *Library Service*, Prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education, Staff Study 11 (Washington, 1938). 107 pp.

*A Survey of Public Library Service in Oregon*²⁸ indicates that facilities for rural areas are relatively deficient. Rural people make less use of available library service than do urban people. The number of books lent per capita for home reading "by 36 libraries in the smaller rural communities was 6.8, though 13 approached or exceeded the standard of 10," set by the American Library Association. Circulation per capita for the libraries in cities with population of 2,500 to 4,000 was 8.

Twelve mimeographed reports,²⁹ most of which are based upon secondary sources, have been received from the Tennessee Agricultural Experiment Station this quarter. Those having sociological significance are related to rural organization. Some facts culled from the bulletins are the following: (1) In 1926 approximately three fourths of all church members in Tennessee were either Baptist or Methodist. (2) "In this state 52 per cent of the urban population have membership in some church compared with 35 per cent of the rural population." (3) "Forty-three per cent of total expenditures by county governments was for schools, in 1932." (4) "Available data on magazine and newspaper circulation, volumes in public libraries, and retail sales at newsstands and bookstores indicate that Tennessee ranks approximately 40th in extent to which its population reads. This rank is in line with the South as a whole, although Tennessee ranks slightly higher than the average southern state." (5) In a field study of rural credit made in 1923 "42 per cent of the farmers did not know the difference between time and cash prices" at their stores. "The average interest rate for merchant credit (most of which was used for living expenses) was 12 per cent." (6) "It has been estimated that the annual cost of medical care [in Tennessee] exceeds \$24 per capita." (7) "Tennessee has a relatively high infant death rate, ranking 37th in the United States in 1935. The rate is especially high in Tennessee cities." (8) In Tennessee "midwives attended more than half the colored births in rural areas in 1937."

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AT HOME AND ABROAD

Within the *Field of Research in Rural Sociology*³⁰ lie the following categories of investigation:

- I. Population
- II. Social Organization or Social Structure
- III. Social Psychology

²⁸ *A Survey of Public Library Service in Oregon*, Oregon State Planning Board (Portland, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 148 pp.

²⁹ Charles E. Allred, et al., *Human and Physical Resources of Tennessee*, Rural Research Series Monograph Nos.: 78, *Churches and Church Auxiliaries*; 81, *Education: Public and Private*; *Illiteracy, Reading Habits, and Libraries*; 83, *Health and Health Facilities, Welfare Work, Public and Private*; 84, *State Government, Federal Activities*; and 86, *County Government, Municipal Government*. Also received this month were Nos. 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 82, and 85.

³⁰ *The Field of Research in Rural Sociology*, BAE (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 47 pp.

IV. Social Ecology

V. Anthropological Aspects

VI. Social Change

VII. Social Pathology

A committee of the Rural Sociological Society, composed of C. E. Lively, Dwight Sanderson, and Carl C. Taylor, has issued a report describing the accomplishments of rural sociological research in these areas during the last twenty-five years, listing 187 studies as examples. The types of research in progress in 1937 are included as well as an appraisal of future needs and suggestions for timely projects. "The major purpose of this report is to point out where rural sociology may make a contribution to the practical problems of agriculture and rural life, at the same time maintaining its scientific integrity and purpose. It attempts to appraise the entire scope and purpose of rural sociology as a science and as a method to improve rural life."

In the *Improvement of Rural Life*,⁸¹ economic considerations are important but these have too long been stressed without a clear understanding of their sociological significance. Too frequently social legislation leaves the rural people out of consideration. Furthermore the fact that the farm family should be the center of extension activities should not be lost sight of. Education for and improvement of rural life has not kept pace with material progress. Rural life has certain advantages such as the possibility of the family retaining its position at the hub of both its social and economic life, and the privilege of physical exercise in the fresh air for all. There is need, however, for the development of a strong love for farming in order that attractions from the city may be resisted. There should be education for rural family life⁸² and for vocational needs; landholdings should be grouped and other changes calculated to economize energy should be made; and the rural house and level of living, both material and nonmaterial, should be improved.

In recent years interest in rural life has increased greatly in Germany. However this interest has less frequently resulted in statistical studies than in descriptive bulletins and books on folk art and life, including peasant costumes, cabinet work, home decorations, and customs of all kinds. Most of these publications are richly illustrated by photographs.⁸³

The struggle of the peasants up from serfdom is described in a French publication⁸⁴ which discusses the peasant revolts, the development of the syndicate and other rural organizations, and the means of "rendering to the peasant that which is the peasant's."

⁸¹ M. P. De Vuyst, *L'Amélioration de la vie rurale* (Brussels, November, 1938). 16 pp.

⁸² M. P. De Vuyst, *La Famille et l'école*, Commission Internationale de L'Education Familiale (Brussels, October, 1938). 16 pp.

⁸³ Karl Rumpf, *Handwerkskunst am Hessischen Bauern Haus*, Beitrage zur Hessischen Volks und Landeskunde, Heft 2 (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1938). 69 pp.

⁸⁴ Henri Pitau, *La Terre au paysan* (Paris: Pierre Bossuet, 1936). 443 pp.

MISCELLANEOUS

*The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents*³⁵ was studied for 695 Nebraska farm boys and girls in small town high schools. A battery of nine personality scales, the Otis intelligence test, and a questionnaire requesting information concerning home environment were administered. Of 270 tetrachoric correlation coefficients between the personality variables and the fifteen home-life items, sixty-seven were adjudged to be significant. In the order of their significance the presence of the following four items was found to be important in determining the development of the personality of the boy:

1. An attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the child's friend in the home.
2. Frequently to have enjoyable times together in the home as a family group.
3. Infrequent punishment.
4. An affectionate relationship between the boy and his mother (expressed by frequently kissing mother).

In the order of significance the following four items were found to be important in determining the development of the girls' personalities:

1. An attitude of welcome on the part of parents toward the child's friends in the home.
2. Infrequent punishment.
3. Nothing in the behavior of the mother which she particularly dislikes.
4. A minimum of participation of the mother in the work outside the home.

Findings of the study agree in general with other similar studies most of which were not limited to farm children. Sex differences are given special emphasis and the mental and physical health of parents were thought in most instances to be of less significance for the group studied than of those included in the White House Conference study.

Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians,³⁶ a publication of the Smithsonian Institution, based both upon first hand field investigations and analyses of existing source materials and references dating from 1540, indicates the position of the group to the general aboriginal cultural pattern of northwest South America. Special attention is given to supernatural beliefs, war customs, and head hunting. Brief treatment is accorded such traits as those related to food and clothing, weapons, houses, instruments, and the like. Photographs and illustrations are included.

³⁵ Leland H. Stott, *The Relation of Certain Factors in Farm Family Life to Personality Development in Adolescents*, Nebraska AESB 106 (Lincoln, October, 1938). 46 pp.

³⁶ M. W. Stirling, *Historical and Ethnographical Material on the Jivaro Indians*, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 117 (Washington, 1938). 148 pp.

Book Reviews

Carle C. Zimmerman, Editor

Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States, SSRC Bul. 42. By Rupert B. Vance. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. xi, 134 pp. \$1.00.

Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials, SSRC Bul. 43. By Dorothy Swaine Thomas. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938. xii, 423 pp. \$2.00.

Needed Population Research. By P. K. Whelpton. Lancaster, Pa.: The Science Press Printing Company, 1938. xv, 196 pp. \$1.00.

France Faces Depopulation. By Joseph J. Spengler. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1938. xi, 313 pp. \$3.00.

The first three of the above named reports have for their purpose the focusing of attention on needed population research. Vance's monograph carries forward the work of Carter Goodrich, but instead of contributing a fund of knowledge to serve as a basis for judgment on the matter of population policy, he centers his efforts on the development of coherence within the field of population distribution by stating what is now known with reasonable certainty, and by suggesting research problems which may be projected upon the basis of existing knowledge, and gaps in the knowledge now extant. He sets up twenty-one basic propositions and a large number of postulates which may be said to constitute a theoretical framework about which research on population redistribution may be co-ordinated. Thomas likewise devotes herself to the task of putting together what is known, particularly with reference to internal migration, and of suggesting immediate steps in research to co-ordinate and expand this base. She defines the problem of *migration differentials* as being essentially the same as that of *selective migration* because the question of whether persons who migrate are differentiated from those who do not is one of selection. The differentials which have been considered are age, sex, family statutes, physical health, mental health, intelligence, occupation, motivation, and assimilation. Research workers will find the annotated bibliographies on Anglo-American and German studies convenient as helps. Especially will they be interested in the notes on methods and sources by Fritz Meyer and E. P. Hutchinson in Appendices C-1 and C-2. Both Vance and Thomas have avoided the suggestion of complicated methodology in analysis. For most workers this is important because it elevates knowledge of population phenomena to a position that is preferred above that of methodology for its own sake.

While Whelpton attacks many of the same problems which received treatment by both Vance and Thomas, he gives a major share of his attention to vital processes and to the socioeconomic factors which are related to the natural increase of population. He concludes that many of the gaps in the existing

knowledge of population matters can be filled by slight expansions in the collection and classification of official data. Whelpton makes no attempt to rank the problems needing research except to say that there are three which are outstanding: (1) motives leading to the limitation of offspring; (2) the comparison of the present distribution of population within the nation with the optimum distribution, with special reference to submarginal areas and to areas capable of supporting larger populations; and (3) changes in hereditary makeup of the population, their direction, rate, and causes.

Spengler's study is concerned more with the theory of depopulation as a probable fate of Western societies—France is used as an object lesson—than with research methodology. Somewhat after the fashion of D'Avenel and Levasseur, he traces growth trends in the French population from the early ninth century to the present. He divides French theories of the causes of depopulation in France into three classes: (a) involuntary sterility, (b) Malthusian principles as to failure of economic production to expand as rapidly as it might, and (c) voluntary restriction of offspring due either to institutions somewhat peculiar to France or the Western world and its culture. Having given primarily an economic interpretation to the phenomena observed, he concludes: (1) that personal welfare is dependent to a large degree upon the level of income in a country in which incomes are as low as they are in France; (2) that cessation of population growth will benefit materially the masses of the French people; (3) that efforts to stimulate population growth are essentially the efforts of groups whose social and economic interests run counter to those of the French masses; (4) that efforts to stimulate the growth of population are doomed to failure in the absence of a changed income and social structure in France; (5) that the "struggle for population" may become integrated with the class struggle now under way; and (6) that in the absence of a sane fact-implemented consideration of social ends and demographic means, a "solution" of the population problem in France is not likely for decades.

In all of these monographs the student of population finds a wealth of suggestive and helpful material. Lack of space allotted to this review forbids an expansive critique of these studies. Suffice it to say, each one of them has a significance far greater than could be surmised from the size of the volume.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

Land Utilization in China. By J. Lossing Buck. Three volumes. I. Text, xxxii, 494; II. Maps; III. Statistics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938. \$15.00.

This monumental work is the most inclusive examination to date of the farm economy of an Asiatic country. It covers 16,786 farms in 168 localities and 38,256 farm families in 22 provinces. The field work was done in 1929-33. A number of agencies contributed to the undertaking, but the Institute of Pacific Relations and the University of Nanking were primarily responsible for it. The work is published by the university and issued under its auspices and those of the China Institute of Pacific Relations, the National Economics Council, and the

Central Bank of China. The director was assisted by a major staff of twenty-three Chinese and ten Western scientists. Students and local persons were perforce used in each of the localities studied and the limitations of this procedure are frankly discussed in the excellent methodological section. Indeed certain advantages of this procedure, without which a huge project of this sort could not have been carried through in China, are, if anything, understated.

The underlying philosophy of the work, stated on page one of volume one and never lost sight of, is that "the ultimate criterion of land use is the satisfaction which the farm population receives from the type of agriculture developed, the provision for future production and the contribution to national needs."

To this end, in addition to chapters on climate, soils, crops, an excellent description of China's agricultural regions and the like, there are full discussions of population, the standard of living and of land and its tenure, farm labor, prices and taxation, and marketing. On the theory that one of the important measures of the standard of living is nutrition, a chapter is given to that topic. Throughout the book the immediate and long-time policies that might improve Chinese agriculture and rural life are given attention.

Among the interesting features of the main report are the clear summary of the total study in Chapter I; the frequent pointing out of the interrelations between social and economic data and between both and the physical factors; the unmistakable evidence of regional influences upon the various results; the frequent comparison of Chinese data with that from the United States and several other countries; the discussion of the Chinese family and of the relation of family size to farm size, income, and migration.

Of interest too is the demonstration that despite wide differences in many important respects between rural China and rural America there are significant similarities that suggest that some social forces operate comparably among widely divergent rural populations. One third of the males engaged in agriculture worked part-time in other occupations, and the smaller the farm the greater the likelihood of a supplemental occupation. The smaller the farm the greater the chance of the migration of one or more persons. Tenant families were four times as heavily represented among the migrants as in the general population. Fifty-nine per cent of the migrant families moved to the cities. Again, the standard of living data suggest certain interesting similarities and comparisons.

The main report (Volume I) contains 207 summary tables, 21 maps, 57 graphs, 62 excellent photographs, a valuable glossary, and a good index. There are frequent useful cross references to the other two volumes.

Volumes II and III are of atlas size page. The maps in Volume II furnish a wealth of data on most of the major phases of the study in relation to geography. A useful device is a loose map of the major regions of China, printed on tracing paper, which can be superimposed on the other maps. Volume III gives the supporting statistical data in great detail and also contains the schedules used and further information on the methods employed. This information is skillfully presented within a minimum of space in both English and Chinese.

Director Buck, his staff, and the supporting agencies are to be most heartily congratulated upon the completion and publication of this work despite all the obvious difficulties. Regardless of the outcome of the present tragic events in China there is here contained the foundation on which the same fine co-operation which produced the work can, if allowed, build a program of reasonable action that will profoundly influence for good the future of rural China.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

Readjustments of Agricultural Tenure in Ireland. By Elizabeth Hooker. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938. xii, 245 pp. \$4.00.

Increasingly of late, and notably in the discussions of the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy, the experience of Ireland in achieving 97.4 per cent owner-operation of its farm acreage has been held up to the United States as an example to be copied. Miss Hooker's study records the Irish experience in the light of this enthusiasm and asks what, if anything, it has to teach us.

In 1870 only three per cent of the agricultural holdings in Ireland were owner-operated and at that time experiments were begun in changing tenants into owners. This experimental period lasted until 1885 and barely a hundred holdings a year changed status. A period of gradual expansion then set in until 1903 when there began a period of general land purchase during which advances of \$400,000,000 brought well over nine million acres under owner-operation. Subsequent years saw the completion of the program, involving all told more than one half million holdings, over 17 million acres, and almost \$740,000,000.

In addition to this major enterprise there was a program of rehabilitation for the submarginal congested area in western Ireland, there were attempts at land settlement, and there were special provisions for rural laborers in a successful low cost housing program.

It is an inspiring record, but Miss Hooker is not swept off her feet by the achievement. She analyzes clearly the special conditions operating for the success of the Irish experience, such as the British effort to purchase the good will of the peasants. But she also skillfully disentangles these special influences from the total picture and shows, partly by comparison with the Danish attack on tenancy, what lessons the United States can learn from Ireland's successful war on the social and economic problems of a landless agrarian population. One would wish that our Resettlement communities might have been developed with the careful attention to detail that characterized the west Ireland venture.

The book is well and clearly written. The social and economic factors alike receive due emphasis. It is a disappointment to read the publisher's announcement that the edition is limited to 750 copies and that the type has been melted, for all those actively interested in the problems of farm tenancy in the United States should be familiar with this volume.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER

The Open Fields. By C. S. and C. S. L. Orwin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938. 344 pp. \$7.00.

One of the chief characteristics of the early English agricultural communities was to be found in "the practice of farming in great open fields under a common system rather than in compact inclosures in individual occupation." The origin of this open-field system, with its many small strips or "lands" distributed among the villagers so that each had a share of the poor land and good land, poor meadow and good meadow, without actual ownership of any strip by its cultivator, has been a subject for conjecture by many writers. This volume presents a new and exceedingly well-worked-out theory as to the beginnings and administration of the open fields.

Such men as Stubbs, Seebohm, Vinogradoff, and others have attributed the open-field system to various ethnic, legal, constitutional, and social factors. The Orwins, in *The Open Fields*, take great pains to point out and refute the errors in the reasoning and evidence of these authors. They show that rather than being the result of any such abstract agent as man's search for justice or desire for equality, the open fields were a direct adjustment of man to the land in order that he might survive.

The authors base their theory upon a prolonged and meticulous analysis of three factors: (1) primitive agricultural conditions in early England; (2) the development and operation of the plow and its effect upon the land; and, (3) a description of one of the few remaining open-field systems in England, Laxton Manor. The Orwins, as a result of their studies of these three factors, point out that the open fields were a direct adjustment to the knowledge of agriculture, the effect of the plow on the fields, and the varying conditions of the soil and topography of early England.

Over half of the volume consists of an account of Laxton Manor, tracing its history from Domesday to the present, including the complete and detailed survey of 1635, and an account of its operation and management as of the year 1929.

The book is well illustrated, and an excellent glossary and an ample index are included. The logic and evidence of the authors concerning the origin of the open fields is quite convincing and can be accepted as the best from the point of view of logic and evidence of any so far presented. But their concluding suggestion that the open-field system holds a solution for present farming problems is open to question.

University of New Hampshire

J. E. BACHELDER, JR.

Behold Our Land. By Russell Lord. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1938. 310 pp. \$3.00.

This book is the result of a three-year study of erosion and soil conservation practice undertaken at the request of Hugh Bennett, Chief of the Soil Conservation Service. It represents, however, a departure from the usual technical bulletin of the soil specialist. If these specialists "know too much about too little," Lord's

chief qualification for this particular effort was, in his own words, "a wholesome ignorance," a fact which may account for a stimulatingly fresh point of view in a book based on fact, yet frankly directed at arousing public opinion.

The first four chapters picture dramatically the agelong natural processes of soil building, in contrast to the startling suddenness of man's ruthless waste in what constitutes "the last few seconds" of the total timespan. The next two chapters turn to a brief history of actual land use on the earth, bearing out the claim that "civilization is a disease of the land" cured only in those places (typified by Sweden and Germany) where a governed use of the land is based on a folk attitude of respect for the soil. The last seven chapters take up the colorful history of land settlement in America from early frontiers of exploitation to the newer frontiers of experimental conservation practice. That conservation of soil resources is scientifically possible without widespread displacement of population from great areas of land is offered hopefully from a review of the many successful demonstrations of the Soil Conservation Service. Nevertheless, the treatment leaves unanswered many questions previously raised by studies of population in relation to economic opportunity in the several regions of the United States.

The significance of this book, however, seems to be based on something more fundamental than just its plea for conservation. It is the story of the American people's adjustment to their land, told in its multiplicity of differences of climate and soil, of people and culture, with all that this implies for those who have come to recognize the importance of a regional approach to national planning.

East Texas State Teachers College

KENNETH EVANS

A Southerner Discovers the South. By Jonathan Daniels. New York: The Mac-Millan Co., 1938. viii, 346 pp. \$3.00.

This book adds another title to the ever-increasing list of literature on economic and social conditions in the South. It is not, however, such a "muckrake" as some of the books that have preceded it. The author attempts by a hurried swing over the southern states to observe and pass judgment on projects and conditions in the area. Among the former are the T. V. A., the Dyess Rehabilitation Farm Project, the Co-operative Plantation project at Hillside, Mississippi, and the large absentee plantation projects in the Mississippi Delta.

None of these seem to meet his approval. The T. V. A. is too paternalistic, and the Dyess project too agrarian and retrogressive. The Co-operative Plantation project at Hillside is too much supported by a crop of philanthropic Yankees who could not be enlisted on a large enough scale to help agricultural conditions generally. The Absentee Plantation project is also too paternalistic. The author criticizes some of the southern states, especially Mississippi, for their attempts to entice industrial plants at any cost. He sympathizes with the industrial baron at Birmingham who defies unionism, but realizes that this man is putting up a losing fight. He would also be sympathetic toward the governor of Alabama in his attempt to correct differentials in freight rates and high protective tariffs.

Mr. Daniels thinks that two pincers that have been used on the agricultural

South by the industrial East (far more powerful than were Grant and Sherman in the Civil War) are differentials in freight rates and high protective tariffs, protecting the market for industrial products and leaving it wide open for agricultural products.

A number of social groups are portrayed in this book, such as the fading aristocrats of the old South who are willing to spend more money for the front pillars of their homes than for the rest of the house, and who will even now dispense fine wines to the guest while the family larder is nearly bare. The recent crop of Coca Cola and Cardui barons of the new South, the redheads, the peckerwoods, the poor white trash, the creoles, the Cajuns, the "niggers," and others all come in for mention.

Almost any one might read this book with pleasure and gain information for himself concerning the "number one economic problem" of America today.

Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College

DANIEL RUSSELL

Effects of the Works Program on Rural Relief. By Rebecca Farnham and Irene Link, Research Monograph XIII, Works Progress Administration, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

This monograph represents, in major part, a report on the economic experiences and characteristics of 5,377 rural families who were on relief rolls in June, 1935, but who were dropped from the rolls during the succeeding five-month period. Extending over 71 sample counties in seven states, the study is largely concerned with changes in economic status between June and December, 1935, "in order to get a representative picture of the effects of economic recovery and of administrative changes on rural relief families in selected states."

As is to be expected, in this period encompassing the rise of the Works Program, the most frequent source of December income was none other than the Works Program. In many states vast numbers of relief cases were shifted directly to the new program. From 10 to 34 per cent of the former relief cases, the proportion varying with the respective states, reported nonagricultural private employment as their major source of income. A very small proportion lived by the sale of farm products; and in Iowa, at least, state relief was a more significant source of income than even the Works Program.

Evaluation of this study can best be made on the basis of the adequacy with which it fulfills its avowed purposes. In respect to the first objective, the effects of economic recovery on relief families, the reviewer must confess inability to locate the portion of the report dealing with this significant problem. It is pointed out that a relatively high proportion of the former relief cases were returned to private industry but this means little more than that farm operators returned to their farms and non-operators entered nonagricultural, *seasonal* employment. If an analysis of the effects of economic recovery is intended it might be thought that some correction, or some intimation of the need for correction, should be made for normal seasonal fluctuations in rural employment and in dependency. The question posed is a worthy one, quite unanswered in the bulletin.

Regarding the second objective more can be said. It is quite clear that the

major effect of the Works Program was simply the substitution, for employable cases, of one major source of income for another, the latter source having more dignified connotations. If the reader has sufficient time, it is possible to learn from this survey the differential effects of the program upon different strata in the rural relief population, the effectiveness of the machinery of transfer between agencies, the comparative economic advantage of the family dependent on Works Program with the family in private industry, and other information of a significant character. The statistical bases for conclusions in respect to these problems are provided, but the integration of materials and drawing of meaningful conclusions is largely a responsibility of the reader, the data having been left in virginal simplicity by the analysts. One is impressed by the fact that many statistical tables have been described but not placed in any integrated, analytical context.

Iowa State College

BRYCE RYAN

Seven Shifts. Edited by Jack Common. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1938. 271 pp. \$2.50.

Many fields of interest in social science are not susceptible to analysis by the statistical method. Causal relations between specific factors in a social situation may remain unobserved until qualitative data relative to the whole complex situation are recorded. In such a situation the case study method may be followed and the participant observer technique used in collecting the information. Such is the approach of Jack Common in this study of the meaning to seven British workmen of their jobs and of their periods of unemployment.

The volume comprises contributions from a plasterer, a steel mill worker, an unemployed laborer, a laborer in the gas works, a small-scale merchant in the market place, a blast furnace worker, and a fireman on the railroad. Each of these representatives of the laboring class tells in his own words about his work and leisure, his income from work or the dole, his joys and sorrows in life. The book is filled with vitality and is replete with touches of human interest.

Worthy of special note is the chapter called "Are You Working?" Those who advocate direct relief or the dole as the cheapest means of handling the problem of unemployment will see here revealed the wretched effects of dependency and poverty upon the personality of the individual. From such seed spring dictatorships of either the right or the left. Suffice it to say, the volume is readable and interesting throughout, bringing to light certain facts more adequately than may be possible in a formal research study.

Furman University

GORDON W. BLACKWELL

Economic Nationalism and the Farmer. By Arthur C. Bunce. Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, Inc., 1938. ix, 232 pp. \$1.50.

The issue of economic nationalism has been a political football from the days of Jefferson and Hamilton to those of Roosevelt and William Randolph Hearst. Throughout most of this long period the tariff has been the focal center of

the argument, but foreign trade policies have been, and still are, dominated for the most part by political motives and necessities. The fact that an economic problem involves the well-being of the people is ignored largely. Tariffs are used as a means of getting votes and as a means of achieving a national solidarity free from outside economic pressure. When the good of the nation is brought to the forefront it is not so much to bring a higher standard of living for all as to attain political ends. Economic self-containment, through the imposition of high tariffs and import quotas, has been basically a military measure aimed at increasing the supplies of food produced at home in order to insure against starvation into submission in case of war. This is particularly true of Germany and Italy. In the United States the Democrats and Republicans wage unceasing war on the question of protectionism. In general the national points of view range all the way from complete isolation to a willingness to trade with all nations which will trade. It is the inability of legislators to see the logical and almost inevitable outcome of a continued policy of protectionism that makes necessary the delegation of trade regulation powers to the chief executive. A high tariff policy restricts exports of agricultural products, and adds to the consumer's price without contributing to the well-being of the farmer.

This book is a doctoral thesis and shows the desiccating effects of having run the usual gamut through which all such studies must pass. The bulk of the material reads with an academic stiffness that makes it seem as if it had been embalmed and placed in the cold room. By far the most stimulating portions of the work are the introduction and the chapters on the cost of tariffs to the consumer and on national planning and foreign trade. Apparently the author was able to put himself into those parts of his work.

At least, he was free to predict that if the 1937-38 trend continues, normal crops granted, it appears inevitable that prices of farm products will again be at a great disadvantage compared with industrial products. Parenthetically, does anyone know when farm products have ever enjoyed a great relative price advantage over that of industrial products since index numbers were invented? At any rate, we can agree that if this continues, it is highly probable that the farmers will start demanding some form of price-raising legislation before long, but it is doubtful that either their comprehension of the full meaning of such an approach or any alternative method of economic control that does not purport to raise their prices can prevent it, whether it would involve the nation in economic nationalism or not.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College OTIS DURANT DUNCAN

A Sociological Analysis of Rural Education in Louisiana. By Marion Bush Smith. Baton Rouge, La.: University Press, 1938. 130 pp. \$1.00.

This study is a creditable beginning of a sociological analysis of the rural school. It opens with a survey of the literature dealing with rural education, then analyzes the population of Louisiana and the quantitative job of rural education. There follows a description of the Louisiana state system of education.

The next four chapters describe the number of selected rural grade and consolidated schools. A final chapter sets forth general conclusions.

The curriculum, administration, and public relations of the schools surveyed are compared with the advantages claimed for consolidated schools with discouraging results, despite the high level of professional preparation required of the teachers. The rural schools offer a curriculum almost identical with the urban, with little or no adaptation to the actual needs of the community. More than twice as many rural students are taking commercial subjects as are enrolled in agriculture, though despite their wishes to the contrary, most of them will return to rural areas. Consolidation has been carried through on an administrative, not a sociological, basis. Three to four hours a day in a school bus is not unusual. There are schools where children seated next to each other live fifty miles apart. Naturally the schools feel little or no responsibility to their communities. "Not a high school reports any form of community activity . . . except the P. T. A."

All told, it is a damning indictment the author constructs on a sound factual basis. It is to be regretted, however, that some of the final conclusions are not limited to Louisiana. That "the consolidated school does not solve the educational problems of rural districts" is doubtless true in Louisiana, but there are fortunately hundreds of cases in other states where quite different results would be secured by a comparable study. One evidence of this is the study published in June, 1938, by the New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, entitled "The Influence of the Central Rural School on Community Organization."

There might well be further analysis to show what sociological explanations there are for some of the conditions described. Is the method of laying out consolidated school districts a reflection of a highly centralized, nondemocratic state administration? Again, "the way in which consolidation takes place" is described purely in terms of the mechanics involved. Usually there are vital social processes involved and often conflicts.

But while the study does not go so far as this reviewer would wish, what ground it does cover is covered well and with careful and sure steps.

Teachers College, Columbia University

EDMUND DES. BRUNNER

Money to Burn. By Horace Coon. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1938. 352 pp. \$3.00.

Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education. By Ernest Victor Hollis. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938. x, 365 pp. \$3.50.

Most social scientists are acquainted in a general way with the activities of funds and foundations, and some very intimately so with those touching their particular interests, but few academic men are fully cognizant of the tremendous importance of philanthropic enterprises as social institutions. Though neither is primarily a sociological treatise, *Money to Burn* and *Philanthropic Foundations*

and *Higher Education* (especially the latter) are recommended reading for every rural sociologist whose work may be affected by such institutions.

Less than a decade ago there was no book which dealt extensively with foundations. Because of the indirection of their activities and the difficulties in securing information (about two thirds of them publish no reports), little knowledge of the field was available prior to the recent publications by Mr. Coon and Dr. Hollis. *Money to Burn* was patently designed for popular consumption and is practically worthless for other purposes; the material is loosely organized, the interpretation is rash and antagonistic, and the generalizations are unsound. On the other hand, Dr. Hollis's book is carefully done, and assumes a critical but not a hostile point of view. The first section of *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* gives an historical survey, and the second describes the range of foundation purposes and activities. The analysis, particularly that of the social institution, would have been more effective and significant through the use of sociological concepts. Be that as it may, this work is very useful in suggesting the many points at which scientific research is affected by extra-theoretical considerations, and in indicating aspects of higher education which need further investigation.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

Americans in Process. By William Carlson Smith. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1937. xv, 359 pp. \$3.00.

With American democracy on the sick list, many are wondering what the diagnosis is. Dr. Smith has contributed something toward the diagnosis in his *Americans in Process*, an analysis of Americanization (the author's term) as it bears upon "our citizens of Oriental ancestry" in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast. Because it is notably objective where objectivity is likely to be rare, and because it is rich in both quantity and quality of empirical materials, this book deserves careful attention. It is, by the way, an excellent companion volume to Elin Anderson's *We Americans*.

The study grew out of the Survey of Race Relations on the Pacific Coast. The author spent six years in California and about three years in Hawaii gathering more than 1,500 life histories, and adequate statistical data. To see the experience of American born Orientals from their own point of view was a primary aim of the investigation. The book is roughly dividable into Hawaiian and Pacific Coast data and interpretations, although the presentation is rather poorly organized and is marked by unimportant repetition. The role of cultural conditioning in essentially similar situations is brought into relief by the comparative technique. A minimum of prejudice in Hawaii is accounted for by the absence of a class of poor whites competing with Orientals and by a lesser degree of heated rivalry between children of the two groups. On the Pacific Coast limitations along racial lines are more definite and more numerous. Both there and in Hawaii to a lesser degree race relations are complicated by Oriental parents' projecting their ambitions upon children torn between conflicting cultural de-

mands. Japanese youths are more eager than the Chinese to achieve characteristic American status, and they are far less willing to accommodate. The ultimate question arises: To what degree will these second generation Oriental citizens become assimilated?

Of particular interest to rural sociologists will be the excellent social psychological analysis of the Hawaiian agricultural labor problem. It is a case wherein deliberate attitude manipulation, altered managerial policy, and the effects of immigration restriction and the depression have made the once despised plantation labor attractive to young Orientals.

The term "Americanization" should have been more carefully defined. At one point the reader feels that it is synonymous with cultural assimilation and behavior integration. But again, it is Americanization which is partly responsible for increased prejudice and conflict. One also feels that Dr. Smith has not made the most of his facts, since the study is relatively weak in theory, loose jointed, and frequently contradictory. As a result the reader is likely to be confused. Such confusion seems preferable, however, to that regimentation which makes for clarity but distorts facts.

Harvard University

N. J. DEMERATH

Hex Marks the Spot: In the Pennsylvania Dutch Country. By Ann Hark. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1938. xviii, 316 pp. \$2.50.

Probably the most distinct and interesting regional folk in America are the Pennsylvania Dutch. Hence they can hardly be the subject of a dull book. This volume—a light, journalistic description, as the title suggests—is not dull, but it is overwritten, discursive, and primarily antiquarian in interest. The author, a Pennsylvania girl and a Philadelphia journalist, is as innocent of sociology as a Mennonite minister is of evolution; yet the sheer fascination of her subject induces one to tolerate her feminine prolixity (and invariable coyness with her "chauffeur") in order to read the book through. So little real information about the Pennsylvania Dutch is available, moreover, that any scraps of accurate information are worthwhile, and this book seems accurate.

Some of the chapters are of particular interest to rural sociologists, viz., the account of the history and function of the "Conestoga wagon," the description of country markets, the picture of life in an Amish household. Since most of the book deals with religious sects, it also provides some grist for the sociology of religion. The chapters describing a Reformed Mennonite foot washing, a Dunkard baptism, an Amish "singing," and the Ephrata Cloisters are especially enlightening.

The book is at its best in those rare portions when it describes a segment of life, the behavior and motivation of a group of people so different from ordinary Americans as to bear no resemblance to them.

Pennsylvania State College

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Swedes in America. Edited by Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1938. xvi, 614 pp. \$3.00.

This collection of some forty essays is an effort to portray in detail "the magnificent debt of the United States to the Swedes." Published as part of the New Sweden Tercentenary celebration, its orientation is panegyric rather than sociological. On the whole, it comprises a *catalogue raisonné* of Swedish achievements, ranging from the introduction of the log cabin to the exploits of Jenny Lind, Garbo, Lindbergh, and Rosendahl. Every compartment of human activity is seen to have profited by the contributions of this people. There is, however, little extended effort to describe the modes of interaction between Swedish and native Americans.

The frankly eulogistic essays are balanced by some which introduce a mass of useful information. Uppvall's discussion of the Swedish language in America, for example, is a helpful introduction to this subject. It includes a serviceable bibliography. Of general academic interest is an annotated list of college professors of Swedish descent.

If this volume is to be evaluated in terms of its explicit purpose, as indeed it should, then it may be recommended as a compendium containing a variety of facts not readily available elsewhere.

Harvard University

ROBERT K. MERTON

Immigrant Settlements in Connecticut: Their Growth and Characteristics. By Samuel Koenig. Hartford: Connecticut State Department of Education, 1938. 67 pp. \$.60.

The author's prefatory statement is all too true, not only of Connecticut but of many other centers of immigration in the United States. He says "despite the preponderance of immigrant stocks in the State, pitifully little material is available to the person who desires to gain a better understanding of the ethnic groups in Connecticut."

This little book is a very useful introduction to the role of ethnic groups in local or national life, but it does not attempt to be more than introductory. Prepared under the auspices of the Federal Writers' Project of Connecticut, it is perhaps a forecast of a valuable work to come, a comprehensive treatise on the rôle of immigrant groups in Connecticut life.

Readable but statistically competent sections sketch the "Growth of the Immigrant Groups in Connecticut," "Characteristic Features of the Immigrant Settlements," and "Organized Life of the Immigrant Communities."

Of most interest to the reviewer, however, was Part I, "The Contemporary Connecticut Scene." There in one lightning flash is shown the position of immigrant groups in the Connecticut social hierarchy. In every phase of life, from industry and agriculture to government and politics, positions of leadership and chief responsibility are held by descendants of the old Yankee stock, but throughout, the immigrant groups are pressing on this élite group and are often displacing them in the institutional life of the state. This dramatic situation is

in fact partly illustrated today in one of Broadway's most successful stage productions, *The American Landscape* by Elmer Rice. An enlargement of this analysis would be of great value to rural sociology.

A carefully selected bibliography is appended.

Colgate University

WENDELL H. BASH

Human Side of a People and The Right Name. By Raphael P. Powell. New York: The Philemon Company, 1937. xxi, 399 pp. \$3.00.

Although the author makes a sincere attempt to express a reasoned protest against race discrimination, this work provides little insight into the problem. Based on the thesis that the main source of prejudice, suppression, and caste sentiments lies in the term "Negro," the book presents an earnest plea for a new term. "To take the word *Negro* out of American literature would be like taking the sting out of a snake's mouth. The means of creating the sentiment would be lost; and the white race would be deprived of the weapon used to spread demoralizing propaganda against the African race" (Page 151). Replete with tedious discussions, this logomachy quite fails to describe a single important factor underlying the relationships between races.

Smith College

NEAL B. DE NOOD

Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community. By Edgar B. Wesley. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1938. xvi, 168 pp. \$2.00.

Current interest in the origin of communities, their agricultural, industrial, and cultural growth, is not due to idle curiosity, but rather to a desire to learn lessons from the past as a basis of understanding the present and planning for the future. Knowledge of the past gives one a perspective that is an essential element in any adequate analysis of a community and its service center. Scattered over the nation are some 16,000 communities and community centers of which Owatonna, the county seat of Steele County, sixty miles south of Minneapolis, is one. The present population of Owatonna is 7,654 (and of the tributary service area about 6,350, though the author does not state it) so that it is not a typical-sized community center, though it probably is a fairly typical-sized county seat.

The author, head of the Social Studies department, University High School, and professor of education, University of Minnesota, gives the culture history of Owatonna, a story not essentially unlike those of a thousand other community centers of similar size. The eleven hotels of 1868, when the population of this center was about 1,500, gradually gave way to four or five larger establishments. We are told (p. 151) that the city has seen the rise and fall of more than twenty newspapers. The organizations and institutions that Owatonna does not have or has not had are hardly worth mentioning. "Reorganization" seems to be the unwritten law in nearly every group activity attempted.

The study of Owatonna is primarily historical, though many of the economic

and sociological implications are apparent. A graph or two portraying the life history of some of the organizations and institutions would have been a welcome addition to the interesting narrative. The developmental process of the community involved the usual early expansion, the hope of becoming a great industrial center, and the final recognition that agricultural activities are an integral part of the community's culture.

The interdependence between the community center and its tributary service area, for communities of this size and type, deserves much more consideration than was accorded it in this study. This account, like so many purported studies of communities, is primarily an analysis of the community center rather than of the entire community. The tributary service of a community center is often the "forgotten man" in analyses of communities. The author fails to indicate the gradual and consistent decline in population since 1900 in most of the nine townships surrounding Owatonna—the territory that Owatonna serves quite as much as the "center." The study also fails to portray Owatonna's position in relation to the Twin Cities.

Possibly at least nine tenths of us spend more than nine tenths of our lifetime in one, two, or three communities. We should, therefore, know our community as thoroughly as we know the elements of arithmetic, writing, and spelling. Some social analyst in each community should prepare a culture history of his community as a basic text for its citizens and future citizens.

Michigan State College

J. F. THADEN

The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation. By Willard Waller. New York: The Gordon Co., 1938. 621 pp. \$3.25.

Those who have relished the understanding approach in Professor Waller's writings will not be let down by his recent book, *The Family*. Institutionalists may object to the rather atomistic point of view, but it is precisely this approach which the average undergraduate wants when he enrolls for a course in the family. As Waller remarks in the preface, the nexus with human nature is chosen rather than that with institutional characteristics. The family as a unity of interacting personalities is intimately viewed, and on the whole the author gives an accurate depiction—some of which hitherto has been only vaguely articulated by students in the field—of family life in the middle class.

In no slight degree the treatment reverses Westermarck's maxim that marriage is based upon the family, and Waller is open to the criticism that his book is misentitled, for his relative emphasis is indicated by six chapters on courtship interaction and only one on parenthood. By selecting passages (see page 276, for instance), one could show that the author is like those writers of romantic fiction who treat marriage as a denouement—except that in his type of case the young couple do not "live happily ever after." There is perhaps an overemphasis of the idea that conformity to the mores is often a costly thing to personality, and the immature student may be unintentionally led to conclude that an understanding of institutional prohibitions is identical to emancipation from them.

Freudian psychology is utilized, but despite the rather abrupt shifts from one type of psychological analysis to another, no system is used exclusively or uncritically. The most original sections of the work are those on "Courtship Interaction" and "Marriage Interaction," both of which deserve front ranking in recent sociological literature. Users of this volume will like the forthright treatment of descriptive materials and analytical concepts, ranging from Ursula Parrott to Ivan Pavlov. Regardless of the plethora of textbooks already available on the family, Professor Waller has succeeded in bringing forth a fresh interpretation which will commend itself to many sociologists.

Harvard University

LOGAN WILSON

Causes of Crime. By Arthur E. Fink. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938. xi, 309 pp. \$3.00.

From the title of this work, the reviewer had expected to find a specific consideration of all the "causes" of crime and an attempted allocation to each of its proportionate and appropriate weight in the production of the abstract thing called crime. It was certain that such an undertaking would be full of pitfalls, for it is becoming evident that the social sciences are far removed from the attainment of a thoroughly objective understanding of causation. It was an agreeable surprise to find the author had guarded himself against presumptuous commitments in this wise: "This treatise indulges in no discourse on scientific cause; . . . The use of cause and causation is governed by the usage of the period under consideration." From such uses students of crime may draw some valuable conclusions (p. ix).

This treatise is really a history of the various theories of the causes of crime which have developed during the last century or so. The views of the more important writers and researchers associated with each set of theories from about 1800 down to William Healy's great work in 1915 are considered. The titles of the chapters denote the different theories and phases in crime causation which are treated: "Phrenology, Insanity, Moral Insanity, Alcohol and Drugs, Criminal Anthropology (Anatomy and Physiology), Heredity (the Jukes, Human Sterilization), Feeble-mindedness, Conclusions." One observes the beginning of theories in their crude form, largely assumptive and hardly experimental, their modification by later studies, the development of experiment and research, and the attainment of some approximate approach at last to scientific results. Yet in every field, the final results are generally vague and subjective. It is not yet demonstrated what the exact causative relation between crime and such factors as feeble-mindedness, insanity, alcoholism, and heredity is. It is rather apparent, however, that there is a closer and closer approach to scientific objectivity. The author scarcely commits himself to an opinion on any of the final theories. He is the historian and interpreter of developing doctrines and dogmas.

This volume under review realizes its undertaking as set forth above in a satisfactory and illuminating manner. Personally, I feel indebted to the author for the information he has given me.

University of North Dakota

J. M. GILLETTE

News Notes and Announcements

THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, DETROIT, MICHIGAN, DECEMBER 28-30, 1938

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT—DWIGHT SANDERSON

Presidential addresses give opportunity for the incumbent to make a contribution to knowledge and to express his views as to the work of the organization. I have chosen to do the unconventional thing of publishing my main contribution with the other papers which are to form the basis of our discussion this morning. I wish, however, to supplement this with a brief word as to the work of our new organization, which may not be inappropriate at our first annual meeting.

Historical. The first serious consideration of Rural Sociology by the American Sociological Society was in 1916 at the annual meeting at Columbus under the presidency of Dr. Geo. E. Vincent, who chose the theme "The Sociology of Rural Life." At that time I presented my first paper in this field on "The Teaching of Rural Sociology."¹

In 1921 at the Pittsburgh meeting an informal round table and dinner of rural sociologists was held before the regular meeting at the call of Dr. K. L. Butterfield, and I was asked to preside.² It was voted to request the American Sociological Society to establish a section on Rural Sociology, and this was done at that time. The first meeting of the new section was held before the regular sessions at Chicago in 1922, and I had the privilege of being chairman. Since then the section on Rural Sociology has had a regular place on the program. In 1928 under the presidency of Dr. John M. Gillette, the theme of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society was The Rural Community. As another decade has passed, it may be time for the parent society to again give specific attention to the sociology of rural life. Last year we decided to establish a separate organization but to retain our affiliation with the parent society if it agreed. Which brings us to this our first annual meeting.

Progress in Rural Sociology. The last few years have been ones of notable progress in our field of work. There has been a steady increase in the number of state agricultural experiment stations conducting research in rural sociology, an increase in their staffs, and a larger recognition of the importance of the subject by experiment station directors and agricultural college executives. This has been due largely to the stimulus of the co-operative relations with the Division of Social Research of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and its successor the Works Progress Administration, and with the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in co-opera-

¹ *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XI (1917), 181.

² For a history of the participation of rural sociologists in the meetings of the American Sociological Society before 1930, see B. F. Coen, in *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXIV (May, 1930), 181-83.

tion with the Farm Security Administration. Dr. T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Dr. Carl C. Taylor, as heads of the work in rural sociology in these organizations, have made remarkable records in the quality and quantity of research which they have produced and which they have stimulated. We are all gratified at the increased support and recognition which their work is receiving and which is so well deserved.

Fundamentally, however, this increased support of rural sociology is the result of the social situation which has arisen since 1930, the current social trend, and an appreciation of the contribution which rural sociologists have been able to make in attacking its problems. As a result of the work of rural sociologists in the fields of rural population, the social aspects of land use and resettlement, and the attitudes of rural people, there is now every promise of the opportunity for a much more effective co-operation with our colleagues, the agricultural economists and with educators in rural school district reorganization.

The prospect for continued progress in our field is most encouraging, but as I said in closing an address before this group four years ago, "The prospects for social science under what we term the New Deal are limited only by its ability to meet the demands which will be made upon it."⁸

For the last twenty years rural sociologists have been fighting for recognition of their research and teaching as a means for the betterment of rural life, and of their contributions to a science of sociology. During this time they have occasionally fallen victim to a feeling, common to those in all new movements, that their work is regarded by others as inferior and they have been prone to fight for their rights. The battle is not yet won, but I have a belief that we are getting recognition as fast as we deserve it and that what is now needed is an assertion of leadership with a positive program in all those areas in which we are qualified to furnish it.

Most of our membership is in the states in which agriculture is the major industry. The northeastern section of the United States, east of the Mississippi and north of the Ohio rivers, contains about half of the population and 70 per cent of the nation's income, but it contains a minority of the rural sociologists. The meetings of the national social science societies are usually held within this region, to the disadvantage of a majority of our members. Our organization should advocate holding these meetings more frequently in the Middle West and South, and we should encourage the development of strong rural sections in the regional sociological societies. In order to offset this handicap in attendance at annual meetings, I believe we will do well to have our elections by mail ballot, and I shall propose an amendment to the constitution to this effect.

However satisfactory the present status of our profession may be, I am sure that all of us sometimes have a question in our minds as to whether in the present turmoil of international relations we are doing a job which is worth while and is really significant in preserving and building a better civilization. In these days Democracy is facing a supreme test. Can we as rural sociologists help our people

⁸ Dwight Sanderson, "Status and Prospects for Research in Rural Life under the New Deal," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (September, 1935), 193.

to meet this test? We have staked our careers on the belief that rural sociology can reveal the means of a better rural social organization through the scientific method. In my paper four years ago I quoted a significant paragraph from Prof. Charles A. Beard, which bears repeating:

A revolution in thought is at hand, a revolution as significant as the Renaissance: the subjection of science to ethical and esthetic purposes. Hence the next great survey undertaken in the name of the social sciences may begin boldly with a statement of values agreed upon, and then utilize science to discover the conditions, limitations, inventions and methods involved in realization.⁴

We believe in Democracy as a basic value. What can rural sociology do toward its realization? Science may give us knowledge of the structure and functioning of rural society, and it may test the validity of our institutions, but this does not necessarily motivate men to action. We need, therefore, to have more research on the social psychology of rural life, upon how attitudes are developed and how they may be guided. With such knowledge it should be possible through our extension services to do much to allay class antagonisms and to create a firm belief in the fundamental values of Democracy. The Totalitarian States and the experts in public relations have learned the art of manipulating public opinion through skillful propaganda for their own ends. Should we not be actively at work in learning how to show rural people how they may immunize themselves to these subtle forces and how they may control their own institutions in a democratic manner? We do not aim to manipulate them, but we should be able to motivate them to a well-informed conviction as to the importance of maintaining Democracy in all aspects of life. With this there will arise a new patriotism which is not incited merely for defense against an enemy from without, but which is actuated by devotion to the common welfare and a love of the home community, and which is, therefore, alive to defense against the enemy which is within ourselves.

I deeply appreciate the confidence which you have given me as the first president of our new organization. I believe we have made a good start, and that the future is bright if we will meet its challenges. I have every reason to believe we shall do so to the best of our ability and I congratulate you on the opportunities which are yours.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The meeting was called to order by the president, Dwight Sanderson, at 3 P.M. The report of the Committee on Teaching was called for and 23-page mimeographed report was present by the chairman of the committee, Wilson Gee. Fred C. Frey moved that the society receive and approve the report. C. Horace Hamilton offered the substitute motion that the society vote separately on the five recommendations contained in the report. Seconded and carried. The society then proceeded to consider the recommendations. Recommendation 1, page 22 of the

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 181, quoting Charles A. Beard, "Limitations to the Application of Social Science Implied in Recent Social Trends," *Social Forces*, XI (May, 1933), 510.

report, was amended to read: "That a separate status be sought at the earliest practicable date for rural sociology for teaching, research, and extension in the College of Agriculture in the land-grant agricultural colleges and universities where it is included with agricultural economics or other subjects than sociology, even though the department be a small one at the outset." It was then accepted by the society. Recommendation 2 was amended to read: "If rural sociology is lodged in a department of sociology in a land-grant agricultural college, . . . that it . . . be made a major emphasis, and that the name of the department be changed to indicate this emphasis." It was then accepted by the society. Recommendation 3 was eliminated. Carl C. Taylor moved that Recommendation 4 which reads as follows: "That a committee of this society be set up to reach some agreement on the definition of concepts, the delineation of areas of interest, the content of rural sociology courses, the levels at which these courses should be given, and the background of students taking them," be divided and two committees established—one on concepts, one on teaching. Motion was carried. Recommendation 5 was eliminated.

The chairman next called for the report of the Committee on Extension, J. P. Schmidt, chairman. Phillips B. Boyer moved the acceptance and approval of the report including approval of a special committee on extension appointed by Dr. Sanderson at the Lexington meetings of the American Country Life Association, composed of the following: Howard W. Beers, A. F. Wileden, B. L. Hummel, Mary Eva Duthie, and W. H. Stacy; advisory members, Carl C. Taylor and H. W. Hochbaum.

The chairman next called for the report of the Committee on Research, C. Horace Hamilton, chairman. Conrad Taeuber moved that the report be referred to the incoming Executive Committee. Motion was carried.

The chairman next requested a report on the activities of the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life, by Carl C. Taylor. Dr. Taylor filed a written report with the secretary and will supply copies to those requesting them. Dr. Taylor also reported that five regional rural sociologists had been appointed in connection with the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Act. The five are Messrs. Losey, Cronin, Larsen, Holt, and McKain.

The minutes of the last business meeting of the society were then called for and were approved as printed in the March, 1937, issue of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*.

Conrad Taeuber offered a resolution that the members of the Rural Sociological Society express their feeling of personal loss in the death of Dr. Theodore B. Manny, on September 26, 1938. The following resolution was adopted by a rising vote:

BE IT RESOLVED, That the members of the Rural Sociological Society express their feeling of personal loss in the death of Dr. Theodore B. Manny on September 26, 1938.

Dr. Manny was one of the valued and active members of our organization from the start. He took a leading part in the organization and activities of the present society, as he had done in the Rural Sociological Section previously.

Dr. Manny's energy, social discernment, and eminent fairness of temper won him

friends everywhere, even in the most trying social situations. His work for many years in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Life of the Department of Agriculture and later at the University of Maryland has been marked by a humane and scholarly approach. To those of us who worked intimately with Dr. Manny there comes a feeling of personal loss and a sense of vacancy in the ranks of rural sociologists.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the secretary of the Rural Sociological Society be instructed to enter a copy of this resolution upon the records of the society and to transmit a copy to Mrs. Manny.

The chairman then called on the secretary for a report of the finances of the society. The Auditing Committee, Charles P. Loomis, chairman, certified as to the correctness of the accounts and the following report was approved:

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, 1938

Cash on Hand, January 1, 1938 \$101.47

Receipts

206 Active memberships @ \$3.00	\$618.00
16 Active memberships @ \$3.00, less .50	40.00
36 Active memberships @ \$3.00, less \$1.00	72.00
*1 Active membership @ \$2.50, less .50	2.00
5 Active memberships @ \$2.00 (half year)	10.00
1 Active membership @ \$2.50 (three-fourths year)	2.50
27 Student memberships @ \$2.50	67.50
1 Student membership @ \$2.50, less .50	2.00
1 Student membership @ \$1.50 (half year)	1.50
Total Receipts	815.50

\$916.97

Disbursements

To *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*:

286 subscriptions @ \$2.50	\$715.00
6 half-year, @ \$1.50	9.00
1 three-fourths year, @ \$2.00	2.00

\$726.00

Complimentary membership	3.00
Postage	48.27
Office supplies	37.18
Telegrams	1.23
Programs, 1938	4.50
Program, 1937	7.00
Service charges, bank exchange	2.10

Total Disbursements \$ 829.28

Balance carried forward \$ 87.69

* Subscription to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* accepted at \$2 rate in November, 1937.

T. LYNN SMITH, *Secretary-Treasurer*

December 16, 1938

It was explained that at the time of the formation of the Rural Sociological Society some members had already paid dues in the Section on Rural Sociology for 1938; others had paid for 1938 and 1939. Furthermore, some members in the section had entered their subscriptions to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* to expire with the various issues; and from one of them a subscription had already been accepted at the \$2.00 rate. In each case the proper pro rata credits were allocated, as itemized.

The report of the Committee on the Constitution, John H. Kolb, chairman, was then called for, and the following constitution was adopted:

CONSTITUTION
RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in co-operation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The officers and elected member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting.

Article VIII. *Annual Meeting.* The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. *Amendments.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

BY-LAWS

Article I. *Membership Dues.*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a

member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become associate members upon the payment of two dollars and fifty cents per annum.

Article 2. *Standing Committees.*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairmen of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. *Publications.*

Section 1. The quarterly journal, *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a proposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. *Elections.*

The secretary shall distribute to all members a ballot for nominations during September which to be valid shall be returned to him by October fifteenth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member, whose standing shall be verified by the secretary. The president shall appoint an Election Committee of three members to canvass the ballots, and they shall report to the secretary the names of the three nominees for each position receiving the highest number of ballots. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the three nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an en-

velope bearing the signature of the member. The Election Committee shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting those who have received a majority of the ballots cast. In case there is not a majority for any office, the Election Committee shall report the vote to the annual meeting and election shall be by a majority ballot of the members present.

Article V. *Vacancies.*

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

Article VI. *Amendments.*

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

The chairman next asked Lowry Nelson for a report on publications. Mr. Nelson reported that agreement with the Louisiana State University for publication of the quarterly *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* terminated with the December, 1938, issue, and that new arrangements must be completed if the journal were to continue. He suggested four possible plans of action: (1) that the publication of the journal might be discontinued; (2) that the society might assume full responsibility for the publication of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*; (3) that the Louisiana State University might be requested to continue the journal as its own publication; and (4) that a new co-operative agreement between the society and the university might be arranged and entered into. There was a brief discussion of these proposals, and the chairman asked for a statement from Fred C. Frey regarding the Louisiana State University's attitude. Mr. Frey stated that he had secured support from the university for the journal only in an endeavor to assist the development of rural sociology as a strong discipline, and that the university was willing to extend its support to the journal for two additional years on the following conditions: (1) that the Rural Sociological Society continue in every way as a fully autonomous organization; and (2) that the members of the society make every effort to place the journal upon a completely self-sustaining basis. It was moved and seconded that the editorial board of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* be empowered to work out with the university an agreement for publishing the journal during the coming two years. Motion carried.

Phillips B. Boyer moved that the society extend a vote of thanks to the Louisiana State University for the aid and assistance it had rendered in sponsoring the journal *RURAL SOCIOLOGY*. Motion carried.

The report of the Nominating Committee, Conrad Taeuber, chairman, was called for and the committee submitted the following report:

Your committee submits the following nominations for the officers of the Rural Sociological Society:

President—Carl C. Taylor
 Vice-President—R. C. Smith
 Secretary-Treasurer—T. Lynn Smith

Members of the Executive Committee:

T. J. Woofter, Jr. (elected)
 Howard W. Beers

To the Committee on Teaching, for the term ending in 1941:

J. L. Hypes

To the Committee on Research, for the term ending in 1941:

George W. Hill

To the Committee on Extension, for the term ending in 1941:

A. F. Wileden

Members of the Editorial Board, for the term ending in:

Lowry Nelson	1939
J. H. Kolb	1940
C. E. Lively	1941
C. C. Zimmerman	1942
C. P. Loomis	1943

Editors of Rural Sociological Monographs, for the term ending in:

Paul H. Landis	1939
Conrad Taeuber	1940

Two present members of each of the three standing committees will continue as follows:

Committee on Teaching:

O. D. Duncan, Chairman
 C. R. Hoffer

Committee on Research:

C. Horace Hamilton, Chairman
 N. L. Whetten

Committee on Extension:

Mary E. Duthie, Chairman
 W. H. Stacy

The Managing Editor of *RURAL SOCIOLOGY* is appointed by the Editorial Board and becomes a member of that board.

T. Lynn Smith continues as an ex-officio member of the editors of Rural Sociological Monographs.

Owing to a change in the provisional constitution, two nominees for the Executive Committee were presented, and only one could be elected. Accordingly, it was moved and unanimously accepted that the society accept the report of the Nominating Committee, excluding the nominations of the Executive Committee, and the society proceeded to ballot on the two nominees. A count of the votes showed a clear majority for T. J. Woofter, Jr.

The meeting adjourned at 5:55 P.M.

T. LYNN SMITH,
 Secretary-Treasurer

1938 MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Alabama

Andrews, Henry L.	Box 797	University
Nunn, Alexander	c/o <i>Progressive Farmer</i>	Birmingham
*Sanders, Irwin T.	Alabama College	Montevallo

Arizona

Tetreau, E. D.	University of Arizona	Tucson
---------------------	-----------------------------	--------

Arkansas

Bonslagel, Connie J.	Capitol Hill Apts.	Little Rock
Charlton, J. L.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville
Halfacre, G. May	Farm Security Adm.	Little Rock
Metzler, Wm. H.	University of Arkansas	Fayetteville

California

Benedict, M. R.	University of California	Berkeley
Brandt, Karl	Stanford University	Stanford Univ.
Griffin, F. L.	University of California	Davis
Masters, M.	Fresno State College	Fresno
Taylor, Paul S.	University of California	Berkeley

Colorado

Larson, Olaf	Colorado State College	Fort Collins
Miller, Glenn B.	1408 W. Mount Ave.	Fort Collins
Miller, Marshall C.	Mesa College	Grand Junction
Price, Maurice T.	943 Emerson St.	Denver

Connecticut

Atherton, Raymond P.	County Agent	Litchfield
Brundage, A. J.	Connecticut State College	Storrs
Field, Raymond	Box 1	Storrs
Hypes, J. L.	Connecticut State College	Storrs
McKain, Walter C., Jr.	Y. M. C. A.	New Haven
Salter, Leonard A., Jr.	64 Canner St.	New Haven
Thomas, Dorothy Swaine ..	333 Cedar St.	New Haven
Whetten, N. L.	Connecticut State College	Storrs

Washington, D. C.

Babcock, James O.	5803 Third Place, NW	
Baker, O. E.		U.S.D.A.
Boyer, Phillips B.	Economics of Soil Conservation	U.S.D.A.
Davidson, Dwight M., Jr. ..	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Donnahue, T. C.	University Club	
Galpin, C. J.	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Gardner, Ella	Extension Service	U.S.D.A.
Ham, William T.	3618 Ordway St., NW	
Kirkpatrick, E. L.	744 Jackson Place	
Leonard, Olen	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Loomis, Chas. P.	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Melvin, Bruce L.	Works Progress Adm.	
Monsees, Carl H.	916 16th St., NW	
Parmelee, Maurice	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.

Reese, Madge J.	Extension Service	U.S.D.A.
Robert, Percy A.	Catholic Univ. of America	
Stanley, Louise	Bureau of Home Economics	U.S.D.A.
Taylor, Carl C.	3712 Fulton St.	
Vogt, Paul	A. A. A.	U.S.D.A.
Wakefield, Olaf	A. A. A.	U.S.D.A.
Wells, O. V.	Bureau of Ag. Economics	U.S.D.A.
Wheeler, Helen W.	1701 20th St., NW	
Woofter, T. J., Jr.	Works Progress Adm.	
Youngblood, Bonney	Office of Experiment Stations	U.S.D.A.

Florida

Conoly, G. W.	Florida A. & M. College	Tallahassee
Moore, Coyle E.	Florida State College for Women	Tallahassee
Shankweiler, Paul W.	Florida State College for Women	Tallahassee

Georgia

Andrews, Myron E.	21 Harris St., NW	Atlanta
Elrod, Julius M.	Berry College	Mount Berry
Holt, John B.	Pine Circle, Apt. 2D	Atlanta
Osborn, George C.	Berry College	Mount Berry
Young, Wade P.	College of Agriculture	Athens

Idaho

Mimms, O. L.	University of Idaho	Moscow
-------------------	---------------------------	--------

Illinois

Berry, John W.	Eureka College	Eureka
Bowden, R. D.	South Ill. State Normal Univ.	Carbondale
Breckenridge, S. P.	University of Chicago	Chicago
Burgess, Ernest W.	University of Chicago	Chicago
Holt, A. E.	Chicago Theol. Seminary	Chicago
*Hudson, G. T.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Lear, J. W.	3435 Buren St.	Chicago
Lindstrom, D. E.	University of Illinois	Urbana
Sutton, William M.	520 N. Michigan Ave.	Chicago
Unger, Rev. Louis O.		Loda
Zigler, M. P.	22 South State St.	Elgin

Indiana

Beck, P. G.	Farm Security Adm.	Indianapolis
Davison, Victor H.	209 1/2 University St.	West Lafayette
Hall, O. F.	Purdue University	Lafayette
Hoffman, Charles S.	Farm Security Adm.	Indianapolis
Hollingshead, A. B.	Indiana University	Bloomington
Shideler, Ernest H.	Farm Security Adm.	Lafayette
Smith, Raymond C.	Farm Security Adm.	Indianapolis
Van Huss, A. B.	Farm Security Adm.	Lebanon

Iowa

Anderson, C. Arnold	Iowa State College	Ames
Landis, Judson T.	Iowa State College	Ames
Ligutti, Rev. L. G.		Granger
Muriel, Sister M.	Briar Cliff College	Sioux City

*Porter, Horace	Iowa State College	Ames
Ryan, Bryce	122 North Riverside Drive	Ames
Stacy, W. H.	Iowa State College	Ames
Von Tungeln, George H.	Iowa State College	Ames
Wakeley, Ray E.	Iowa State College	Ames

Kansas

Hill, Randall C.	Kansas State College	Manhattan
Stonecipher, E. E.	Kansas State Teachers College	Pittsburg

Kentucky

Gray, Wayne T.	404 N. Main St.	Barbourville
Isbell, S. L.	144 Highland Ave.	Prestonsburg
Nicholls, W. D.	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Oyler, Merton	University of Kentucky	Lexington
Pratt, Geo. H.		Grayson

Louisiana

Ballinger, Roy A.	Louisiana State University	University
*Bradford, Reed	Louisiana State University	University
Carter, Sam. R.	Department of Public Welfare	Baton Rouge
Clark, Felton G.	Southern University	Scotlandville
D'Argonne, Michael C.	7728 Plum St.	New Orleans
Donohue, Arthur T.	Loyola University	New Orleans
*Evans, Marianna	Southwestern La. Institute	Lafayette
*Folse, C. L.	Louisiana State University	University
Frey, Fred C.	Louisiana State University	University
Glenn, Maxwell	Louisiana State University	University
*Grigsby, S. Earl	Louisiana State University	University
*Hitt, Homer L.	Louisiana State University	University
Hoffsommer, Harold	Louisiana State University	University
Hyde, Roy E.	Southeastern La. College	Hammond
Jacobi, Rev. H. Jos.	Assoc. Catholic Charities	New Orleans
Lehmann, William C.	Tulane University	New Orleans
Lott, E. H.	Louisiana State University	University
McLaren, Hazel	Louisiana State University	University
*McMillan, Robert T.	Louisiana State University	University
*Marx, Paul	Louisiana State University	University
Mims, Mary	Louisiana State University	University
Montgomery, J. P.	Louisiana State University	University
Noll, Miriam	Works Progress Adm.	New Orleans
*Parenton, Vernon J.	Louisiana State University	University
Schuler, Edgar	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, M. B.	Louisiana State University	University
Smith, T. Lynn	Louisiana State University	University
Thompson, Susanne	Louisiana State University	University
Vrooman, C. Earl	Louisiana State University	University

Maine

Niederfrank, E. J.	University of Maine	Orono
--------------------	---------------------	-------

Maryland

Dodson, Linden S.	2 Gardenway Road	Greenbelt
Dorn, Harold T.	7403 Montgomery Ave.	Bethesda

Manny, Theodore B.	University of Maryland	College Park
Taeuber, Conrad	201 Jackson Ave.	Hyattsville
Wilson, M. L.	14 Rosemary St.	Chevey Chase

Massachusetts

Black, John D.	Harvard University	Cambridge
*Davis, Arthur K.	18 Martin St.	Cambridge
*Demerath, Nicholas J.	15 Elm St.	Winchester
DeNood, Neal B.	69 Prospect St.	Northampton
Fitzgibbon, George F.	35 Paisley Park	Dorchester
Ives, Hilda	Andover-Newton Theol. Seminary	Newton Center
Kirk, Dudley	Harvard University	Cambridge
*Kluckhohn, Florence	Harvard University	Cambridge
McIntire, Ruth	Mass. State College	Amherst
Mann, Albert Z.	Springfield College	Springfield
Merton, Robert K.	Harvard University	Cambridge
Moore, Wilbert E.	Harvard University	Cambridge
*Safford, N. Morton	235 Main St.	Hingham
Sorokin, P. A.	Harvard University	Cambridge
Wilson, Logan	Harvard University	Cambridge
Zimmerman, Carle C.	Harvard University	Cambridge

Michigan

Burnham, Ernest	Western State Teachers College	Kalamazoo
Gibson, Duane L.	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Hoffer, C. R.	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Holmes, Roy H.	708 Monroe St.	Ann Arbor
Mumford, Eben	Michigan State College	East Lansing
Robinson, Wm. McKinley ..	Western State Teachers College	Kalamazoo
Smith, Maurice L.	Central State Teachers College	Mt. Pleasant
Thaden, John F.	Michigan State College	East Lansing

Minnesota

Bieri, Margaret E.	State Teachers College	Moorhead
Byrnes, Rev. James A.	240 Summit Ave.	St. Paul
Christiansen, J. O.	University of Minnesota	St. Paul
*Forsyth, F. Howard	University of Minnesota	St. Paul
Lampe, Arthur	501 Courthouse	Duluth
Miller, Ralph E.	University Farm	St. Paul
Mitchell, Don	University Farm	St. Paul
Nelson, Lowry	University of Minnesota	St. Paul
Vaile, Gertrude	University of Minnesota	Minneapolis

Mississippi

Dickins, Dorothy	Miss. State College	State College
Evans, J. F.	Miss. State College	State College

Missouri

Almack, Ronald B.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Gregory, Cecil L.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Lively, C. E.	University of Missouri	Columbia
Loomis, Ralph	University of Missouri	Columbia
Sneed, Melvin W.	412 East High St.	Jefferson City
*Wilkening, Eugene A.	Farm Security Adm.	St. Charles

Montana

Greiner, Harold L.	Dept. of Public Welfare	Helena
Kraenzel, Carl F.	Montana State College	Bozeman
Renne, R. R.	Montana State College	Bozeman
Starch, E. A.	Montana State College	Bozeman
Torgerson, Alda	Farm Security Adm.	Bozeman

Nebraska

Stromberg, Eugene T.	4911 Underwood Ave	Omaha
---------------------------	--------------------------	-------

New Hampshire

Theriault, Geo. F.	Dartmouth College	Hanover
-------------------------	-------------------------	---------

New Jersey

Beers, Howard W.	49 N. 7th Ave., HP	New Brunswick
-----------------------	--------------------------	---------------

New Mexico

Johansen, Sigurd	New Mexico State College	State College
Maes, Ernest E.	521 West Granite	Albuquerque
Shevky, Eshref	Soil Conservation Service	Albuquerque

New York

Anderson, W. A.	Cornell University	Ithaca
*Bee, Lawrence S.	114 Highland Place	Ithaca
Brunner, Edmund deS.	Columbia University	New York
Carson, A. L.	7 Gramercy Park	New York
Catherwood, M. P.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Cottrell, Leonard, Jr.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Duthie, Mary Eva	Cornell University	Ithaca
Eddy, Mantia H.	Cornell University	Ithaca
*Ensminger, Douglas	Cornell University	Ithaca
Ellwell, Glenn B.	Colgate Rochester Divinity School ...	Rochester
*Gessner, Amy A.	Cornell University	Ithaca
Grave, Elsa Butler	531 West 122nd St.	New York
*Hammer, Harold E. ....	.....	Masonville
*Losey, J. Edwin	Cornell University	Ithaca
McMinn, Rev. Gerald W.	St. Bonaventure College	St. Bonaventure
Poindexter, W. G., Jr.	132 Blair St.	Ithaca
Polson, Robert	Cornell University	Ithaca
Sanderson, Dwight	Cornell University	Ithaca
Smith, William M., Jr.	Cornell University	Ithaca

North Carolina

Matthews, M. Taylor	State College	Raleigh
Ormond, J. M.	Duke University	Durham
Thomasson, M. E.	Johnson C. Smith University	Charlotte
Williams, Robin M.	State College	Raleigh

North Dakota

Cape, Wilson	University of North Dakota	University
Gillette, J. M.	University of North Dakota	Grand Forks
Hay, Donald G.	N. D. Experiment Station	State College
Johansen, John P.	North Dakota State College	Fargo

Lantis, L. O.	Teachers College	Minot
Willson, E. A.	831 6th St.	Bismarck

Ohio

Anspach, C. L.	Ashland College	Ashland
Cramer, L. A.	176 W. Weber Road	Columbus
Denune, Perry P.	Ohio State University	Columbus
Falconer, J. I.	Ohio State University	Columbus
Hill, D. A.	P. O. Box 6058	Cleveland
Howard, A. T.	Bonebrake Seminary	Dayton
Kohl, Clayton C.	Bowling Green State Univ.	Bowling Green
Ludlow, W. L.	Muskingum College	New Concord
Schmidt, J. P.	Ohio State University	Columbus
Taylor, E. A.	400 Elmwood Place	Athens

Oklahoma

Duncan, O. D.	Oklahoma A. & M. College	Stillwater
Fernandez, Grace	Oklahoma A. & M. College	Stillwater
Muerman, J. C.	65 College Circle	Stillwater
Sewell, Wm. H.	Oklahoma A. & M. College	Stillwater

Oregon

Bakkum, Glenn A.	Oregon State College	Corvallis
-----------------------	----------------------------	-----------

Pennsylvania

Bowden, Gordon T.	Pennsylvania State College	State College
Clark, Lois M.	Education Bldg.	Harrisburg
Dimit, Beatty H.	344 Normal Avenue	Slippery Rock
Greth, Morris S.	Albright College	Reading
Jastram, Esther E.	469 Main St.	Kutztown
Kerns, R. W.	Penn. State College	State College
Phelps, Harold A.	Univ. of Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh
Rapking, Aaron H.	1701 Arch St.	Philadelphia
Rogers, D. B.	Univ. of Pittsburgh	Pittsburgh
Shields, Dorothy A.	Penn. College for Women	Pittsburgh
Wenger, Ezra .....	.....	Fredericksburg
Yoder, Rev. Paul D. ....	.....	Codorus

Rhode Island

Gordon, W. R.	Rhode Island State College	Kingston
Tudor, William J.	Rhode Island State College	Kingston

South Carolina

Blackwell, Gordon C.	Furman University	Greenville
Frayser, Mary E.	Winthrop College	Rock Hill
Kinard, Joe D.	Clemson Agricultural College	Clemson
Williams, B. O.	Clemson Agricultural College	Clemson

South Dakota

Nuquist, Joseph E.	Sioux Falls College	Sioux Falls
-------------------------	---------------------------	-------------

Tennessee

Alexander, Frank D.	532 E. Hill St.	Knoxville
Allred, C. E.	University of Tennessee	Knoxville

Bonser, Howard J.	University of Tennessee	Knoxville
Jones, Marshall E.	Tusculum College	Greenville
Walton, A. J.	810 Broadway	Nashville

Texas

Ashburn, Karl E.	Texas Technological College	Lubbock
Evans, Kenneth	1307 Ash St.	Commerce
Hamilton, C. Horace	Texas A. & M. College	College Station
Kent, Harry L.	2435 22nd St.	Lubbock
King, Horace M.	Univ. of San Antonio	San Antonio
La Camp, Ira Rex	Farm Security Adm.	Bonham
Russell, Daniel	Texas A. & M. College	College Station
Schopke, Eleanor Allen	Social Security Board	San Antonio
Ullrich, C. E.	Texas A. & M. College	College Station
Walls-Montgomery, Ellie ..	2802 Francis St.	Houston

Utah

Geddes, Jos. A.	Utah State Agri. College	Logan
Maughan, J. Harvard	555 E. 5th North St.	Logan
*Symons, Jos. N.	Utah State Agri. College	Logan

Virginia

Arnold, Edwin G.	Quaker Lane	Alexandria
Beard, Belle Boone	Sweet Briar College	Sweet Briar
Casto, E. Ray	Emory and Henry College	Emory
Edwards, Allen D.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Garnett, W. E.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Gee, Wilson	University of Virginia	Charlottesville
Harris, Marshall	1715 South Kent St.	Arlington
Mangus, A. Raymond	1737 Queen's Lane	Arlington
Shawen, Rev. Wm. C. ....	.....	Chester
*Smith, Joseph M.	350 Fudge St.	Covington
Tate, Leland B.	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Wasson, Chester	Virginia Polytechnic Institute	Blacksburg
Wiecking, E. H.	Route 2	Alexandria

Washington

Landis, Paul H.	State College of Washington	Pullman
Reuss, Carl F.	404½ Campus Ave.	Pullman
Steiner, Jesse F.	University of Washington	Seattle
Wakefield, Richard	204 College Hall	Pullman
*White, James E.	500 California St.	Pullman

West Virginia

Harris, T. L.	West Virginia University	Morgantown
Knotts, Z. R.	New River State College	Montgomery

Wisconsin

Anderson, Martin P.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
Bankert, Zetta E.	1025 West Johnson	Madison
Barton, John R.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
Brooks, Melvin S.	632 Langdon St.	Madison
Christensen, Harold T.	3602 Odana Road	Madison
*Cottam, Howard	University of Wisconsin	Madison

Hill, George W.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
Kellogg, Mrs. Marie J.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*King, Morton B.	103 North Randall	Madison
Kolb, J. H.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
Scott, Almere L.	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Slocum, Walter	University of Wisconsin	Madison
*Smith, Rockwell C.	625 Mendota Court	Madison
*Useem, John	224 N. Mills	Madison
Wileden, A. F.	University of Wisconsin	Madison

Canada

Longley, W. V.	Dept. of Agriculture	Truro, Nova Scotia
Newman, Arthur	Dominion Live Stock Branch	Lacombe, Alberta
Younge, Eva R.	3466 University St.	Montreal

Foreign

Alter, S. Neale.	American Mission	Hama, Syria
Cépède, Michel	135 Rue Falguière	Paris, France
Midkiff, Frank E.	Castle & Cooke Bldg.	Honolulu, T. H.
Seedorf, W.	Universitat Göttingen	Göttengen, Germany

* Student Members.

Connecticut State College:—N. L. Whetten will spend the second half of the present academic year on sabbatical leave in Mexico. He plans to do research on current agrarian and rural life movements in Mexico.

The Pacific Sociological Society:—The tenth annual meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society was held at the University of California in Berkeley, December 28-30, 1938. Among papers read were "Patterns of Age, Sex and Direction in Net White Mobility Streams," presented by Elon H. Moore of the University of Oregon and discussed by Carl F. Reuss of the State College of Washington and Paul Walter, Jr., of the University of New Mexico; and "A Study of the Mormon Village Family," presented by Roy A. West, of the Institute of Religion, Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, and followed by discussions by Robert H. Dann of Oregon State College, and Carlo L. Lastrucci of Stanford University.

Notes for Contributors

Manuscripts should be typewritten (original copy), on bond paper, double-spaced, with ample margins. The sheets should be of uniform size, carefully numbered, and should not be rolled or stapled together.

Insertions should be made on full-size paper, or should be pasted in where they occur.

Charts, figures, tables, or other illustrations should be numbered, the tops indicated, and accompanied with legends of corresponding number. Drawings should be in India ink on white paper or tracing cloth.

Footnotes (preferably double-spaced) should be numbered consecutively throughout an article, and should be designated by separation from the text by lines running entirely across the page. They may be typed either at the bottom of the page or preferably at the point in the page where the reference occurs in the text.

The following abbreviations are acceptable in footnotes:

AES for Agricultural Experiment Station
AESB for Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin
USDA for United States Department of Agriculture
BAE for Bureau of Agricultural Economics
SSRC for Social Science Research Council
WPA for Works Progress Administration
AYC for American Youth Commission
FSA for Farm Security Administration
RB for Research Bulletin
FERA for Federal Emergency Relief Administration
SRR for Social Research Report

The following footnote forms are to be used:

For books:

- ¹ Dwight Sanderson, *The Rural Community* (Boston, 1932), p. 481.
- ² H. C. Nixon, *Forty Acres and Steel Mules* (Chapel Hill, 1938), pp. 20-21.
- ³ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York, 1937), III, 420-38.
- ⁴ Morse Salisbury, "The Effect of Broadcasting upon Rural Life," *Educational Broadcasting*, 1936, ed. C. S. Marsh (Chicago, 1937), pp. 250-59.

For periodicals:

- ⁵ Paul H. Landis, "Seasonal Agricultural Labor in the Yakima Valley," *Monthly Labor Review*, XLV (August, 1937), 1-11.
- ⁶ W. F. Ogburn, "Technology and Sociology," *Social Forces*, XVII (October, 1938), 1-8.

For bulletins:

- ⁷ Deane G. Carter, *Study of Rural Housing*, Arkansas AESB 364 (Fayetteville, June, 1938). Mimeographed, 31 pp.
- ⁸ Harold Hoffsommer, *Landlord-Tenant Relations and Relief in Alabama*, Division of Research Statistics and Finance, FERA RB 9 (Washington, November, 1935), pp. 1-7.
- ⁹ C. P. Loomis and L. S. Dodson, *Standards of Living in Four Southern Appalachian Mountain Counties*, SRR 10 (Washington, October, 1938). Mimeographed, 59 pp.

